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ELIZABETHAN HANDWRITINGS

A PRELIMINARY SKETCH¹

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I. INTRODUCTION. Neglect of post-Mediaeval Writings.—Importance of the Historical Method.—Development of Handwriting and Administrative parallels.—Elizabethan Varieties of Handwriting. (p. 1.)

II. HISTORY OF BUSINESS HANDS. The Main Divisions, *Text* and *Free Hand*.—Further Development of *Free Hands*; the Formal and the Informal.—Differentiation of *Bastard Secretary*.—*Bastard Secretary* and the *Set Hands* in Literature and Business.—The *Set Hands* of the Courts.—*Roman* and *Italic* and their introduction into England. (p. 5.)

III. ELIZABETHANS AND THE ART OF WRITING. Detailed examination of Plates.—Overlapping.—Elizabethan *Secretary Hand*.—Elizabethan *Italic Hands*.—Mixed *Italic* and *Secretary*. (p. 13.)

IV. REMAINING TOPICS. Work to be done on this subject.—Possibility of Foreign Influence.—Materials.—Nomenclature.—Abbreviations and Runes.—Prettinesses and Pedantries.—Autographs and Signatures. (p. 24.)

V. APPENDIX. Plates and partial transcriptions. (p. 35.)

I. INTRODUCTION

WHEN one considers how much Elizabethan things have attracted the attention of scholars in many branches of learning it is surprising that the writings, in which are preserved most of the material evidences upon which scholars rely, have in themselves been so little studied. Yet such is the case, and it is not only the important

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 16 January 1922.

Elizabethan, or Tudor, epoch in England which has suffered. Palaeographers everywhere have as a general rule neglected the eighteenth and the seventeenth centuries in spite of the real beauty and interest which, as I hope to show, are to be found in the writings of those dates. Thus in England the old and the new Palaeographical Societies, and Sir Edward Maunde Thompson in his well-known handbook, have seldom found space to illustrate them; in France Maurice Prou, in all his four albums of facsimiles, devotes only twenty examples to the period 1550-1712; and much the same may be said of Steffens in Germany. Certain books have, it is true, appeared in England, in which particular pieces of handwriting of the Elizabethan period have been subjected to minute examination—Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's recent work on Shakespeare's writing and Mr. Ernest Law's upon the alleged forgeries of Peter Cunningham are obvious examples; but the subject as a whole has been neglected, or taken up, where it has been taken up, in what I may call the sentimental interest¹ of the biographer. The result is that the historian and others who use Tudor manuscripts tend to think that there is nothing to learn about them, that a student may safely plunge into them without special preparation—the very reverse, I venture to think, of the truth. Scientifically the subject is almost a new one.

In a paper read some years ago to this Society² I endeavoured to enumerate the more important varieties of handwriting which were in use in Tudor England and to point out their possible connexions with early printing. On the present occasion I should wish to suggest the lines upon which it may be possible some day to produce an adequate

¹ The *Facsimiles of National MSS.*, the *British Museum Facsimiles*, and such works as Netherclift's *Handbook to Autographs*, do not neglect the period; but their interest is distinctly sentimental or historical rather than graphic.

² *Transactions*, XIII.

survey of post-mediaeval handwritings in England: but it should be understood that we can attempt here no more than a preliminary examination of what is a very large subject.

In the first place it is necessary to be quite clear as to the importance of the historical method in the study of these writings. If any use is to be made (and there is scope for it) of a scientific and exact knowledge of the forms of Tudor writings for the solution of some of the problems which face the philologist, the historian, and the student of literature in that period, it should be understood from the outset that these hands cannot be treated as though they appeared ready made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They are the outcome of growth, part of a whole which goes back to the eleventh century. This is not to say that the needs of the casual student of occasional small points may not be met by a bowing acquaintance with the few hands he is most likely to require to read: but even for such a student an adequate knowledge of the historical development of the Tudor hands is a desirable background; while for any one who contemplates extended work upon manuscripts and a certain amount of textual criticism it is an essential piece of apparatus: it is not enough for such a student to know, for example, of the existence of a thing called *Secretary hand*, or even that it descends by a process of increasing currency, followed by regularization, from the solemn and formal hands in which the twelfth century transacted its business: he should have some knowledge of the intermediate stages.

There is yet another preliminary to which we may advert before we proceed to an examination of actual hands. The process of development in business handwritings reached a very important stage in Tudor times, but it was not the only development which did so. Fashions in these hands were largely set by the Royal Courts and other departments of

public administration, and in developments which occurred in public administration from the thirteenth century downwards we find a very close connexion with those of writing; methods of authentication of executive documents, the conventional forms of these documents, the departments or functionaries which controlled and issued them, and even the language in which they were written—all these went through series of changes closely parallel to each other and to those of handwriting; and all these developments alike culminated in the Tudor period: and just as we trace the germ of the authority wielded by the Tudor Secretary of State in the powers of the mediaeval Chancellor, so we find the ancestor of the *Secretary hand* of the State Papers in the formal script of twelfth-century Royal Charters. Nor does the parallel stop there. Some administrative forms under the Tudors were entirely new, and pursuing the analogy we may look with confidence for new writings also. On the other hand the new forms of administration did not immediately or entirely oust the old; they have not, in fact, done so to this day: and although we cannot perhaps say quite as much of writing, yet it took over two centuries before the new triumphed completely; and for a considerable part of this time the old not only existed but flourished and even developed.

We pass to a consideration of the varieties of writing known in Elizabeth's reign. We can name them without difficulty because all (with only one exception) were known to the Elizabethan writing masters, who practised them and have left us their names and forms in printed books, a study of which appeared some years ago in the *Transactions* of this Society.¹ There are six old ones, or possibly seven, all of which are illustrated in our plates: they are the *Text*, *Bastard Secretary*, *Secretary*, *set hand of the Chancery*, and *set*

¹ Vol. III, pp. 41 ff.

band of the Common Pleas; with at least one, possibly two, *set hands of the Exchequer*.¹ The new writings are two, *Roman* and *Italic*.

II. HISTORY OF BUSINESS HANDS

Let us take the old hands first. They derive all from a common original, whether this be the Caroline Minuscule of the ninth and tenth centuries, or, as Dr James suggests,² an earlier 'insular' hand: but from very early times the descendants of this writing split into two well-marked divisions, the development of which is ruled by the conditions under which the writing is done and the purposes for which it is made and preserved. On the one hand we have the writings used for what would now be printed books, for documents preserved in an aesthetic or scientific interest: treatise hands we might label them, but we have ready made the name under which the Elizabethans knew that form which had descended to their times and which was reproduced in the type of many of their printed books—*Text*, the first of the names mentioned above. On the other side we have the writings which were used and preserved for all kinds of business and administrative purposes, public and private: this group includes all the remaining names—*Bastard Secretary*, *Secretary*, and the *Set Hands*; what have been called elsewhere, perhaps somewhat loosely, *Court Hands*³: and the development of these also is conditioned by the circumstances under which they were written. It will be useful at this point to set side by side for comparison the general characteristics of the two divisions. They will appear best in tabular form, and we will call them *Text Hands* and *Free Hands*.

¹ It is the *Exchequer hand* which is not mentioned in the *Writing Masters' Books* referred to above.

² *Camb. Med. Hist.*, III, p. 517.

³ Cf. Johnson and Jenkinson, *Court Hand Illustrated*, pp. xiii and xiv.

TEXT HAND. (<i>Treatises.</i>)	FREE HANDS. (<i>Business.</i>)
Development to a considerable extent by fashions and schools.	Development by force of circumstances: the needs of currency shape them.
Letters are made separately.	Ties between letters.
More abiding shapes of letters.	Shapes up to a point continually changing.
Comparative size of letters regular: especially the length of strokes above and below the line.	Irregular.
Normal strokes are carefully vertical or horizontal.	Strokes lean at all kinds of angles.
Even round letters like <i>o</i> are made as much vertical and horizontal in effect as possible by means of deliberate and artificial angles, replacing curves with corners.	Letters are rounded when that is the quickest way of forming them.
Two grades of stroke, thick and thin: so long as the pen is properly held there can be no others.	Any number: and strong tendency to stroke which <i>combines</i> the thick and thin; i. e. which tapers.

We must not here attempt to trace the working out in detail of these developments. That of the normal *Free Hand* may be very instructively watched through any series of private deeds from the thirteenth century downwards, or perhaps even better through a series of Court Rolls or any other set of writings compiled and preserved for business purposes, public or private. It is particularly illuminating to follow the career of any one of the more elaborate capitals—

B for example; and still more so to do the same to one of the small letters—such as *e*—where the influence of ‘ties’ with other letters, as well as that of internal currency, is in operation. It is not to be supposed, of course, that fashion had no part to play in the development of the *Free Hands*: instances to the contrary might easily be adduced, and indeed we shall do so ourselves later. But it remains true that these business hands, though varieties of them might become fixed for a time and be spread by fashion, were yet written in general according to individual taste, not according to rule, and developed mainly by the necessities of business—economy of time, labour, and material; these necessities produced in general a small writing, in which not beauty but convenience was studied, and one which was written, wherever possible, without the pen being lifted from the paper or parchment. We may add that this desire for currency and speed went so far as to affect even the language used and the abbreviations adopted in expressing it.

The result of this dual development of writing in the Middle Ages may be studied in the Elizabethan period in a comparison of any book printed in the well-known ‘black letter’ of the time (representing *Text Hand*) with many of the handwritings found in ordinary letters of the same date,¹ with the copybook versions of these set out by the Writing Masters under the name of *Secretary hand* (such as that illustrated in our Plate IX) or with the rare but well-known *Caractères de Civilité*, the type modelled on *Secretary hand*, which was illustrated in my former paper.

But the developments induced by business requirements do not stop with the production of a ‘Free’ hand suitable for the ordinary purposes of ordinary life. Varieties of this are, of course, as numerous as the scribes who write it, for there is no body of rules to check their individuality: but

¹ See Plates VIII, X, and XI.

some of these varieties become crystallized into definite and distinct forms. Let us see what we can of this process.

Speaking very roughly we may say that, from the earliest times in which we find any distinction between the hands used for treatises and those used for business purposes, we find also that the latter tend themselves to split up into two well-marked classes of writing, the Formal and the Informal. To take an obvious instance, the distinction observed, even in the Conqueror's Chancery, between the formal Royal Letter, which we call a Charter, and the informal, which we call a Writ, introduces us to a parallel distinction between the handwritings employed for the two. The distinction is very noticeable in the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, when the formal hand was of a particularly elaborate character: and when we reach the reign of John and Enrolments begin we find a well-established difference between the two writings, formal for the original and informal for the copy enrolled, of the same document.

It must suffice to say here that some distinction of this kind continues throughout the mediaeval period, the formal hand being much in request not only for whole documents but also for headings or special words requiring emphasis. It is important to notice that in the method of making letters, the number and direction of the strokes, there is for a considerable time little difference between the two hands; except what results from the fact that in one ties between letters are little used, while in the other they are everywhere. The difference is, in fact, one rather of style than of shape: the formal is little more than the informal of the same date writ large; but the general effect of a difference between the two is marked. For convenience we may distinguish the absolutely 'Free' hands from the Formal by calling the latter *Set Hands*: and this name, which implies the observa-

tion of a certain amount of rules in writing, may lead to the next stage of our investigation.

The further history of the group of *Set Hands* is that of the differentiation of certain separate species. We have not space here, nor indeed does the present state of palaeographical knowledge warrant it, to try to follow out the stages of this differentiation in detail; but must pass to certain results which directly affect our purpose. Plate I (A) shows a formal, or *set*, hand of the latter part of the fourteenth century;¹ and immediately below it is a page of the Chertsey Cartulary, written about 1432. In my former paper I pointed out that this fifteenth-century hand bore a very close resemblance to the Elizabethan *Bastard Secretary*, as portrayed by Baildon in 1571; whose example is reproduced in Plate II. It will now be seen that in the other direction we find it resembling very closely a much earlier hand; saving the size the likeness is really astonishing, from the point of view both of general style and of individual letters: in fact, we have here enough to enable us to say that the Elizabethan *Bastard Secretary* hand is one which had been reached by a natural process of growth more than two centuries earlier. It is important to notice that once this particular style had arisen its letter forms became to a considerable extent fixed, while those of various half formal hands, which might all be described as more or less *set*, were still liable to change in the practice of their exponents. The *Bastard Secretary* (to give it that name) became, in fact, the copybook for a number of other hands which, while not fully free, were yet not bound by rules to the same extent as itself; just as later we shall see the careful *secretary* of the Elizabethan writing masters heading a group of hands of very varying degrees of regularity.

This group of *Set Hands* headed by *Bastard Secretary* is

¹ Public Record Office, Chancery Warrants, Ser. i, file 445, no. 30962: this is a writ under the Privy Seal.

very important for us because they soon became much more than useful formal variants of the more ordinary business hands: they took a definite position as forming a bridge between the *Free* and the *Text Hands*; and as such became the natural medium, not only for administrative or business documents which, for any reason, were considered to be of a particularly formal character, but also for those which might be regarded as occupying a middle position between the literary and the business styles; for documents, in fact, which were literary, but of a new and informal kind of literature—the kind which was couched in the vernacular. In short, in a business connexion *Bastard Secretary* and its satellites were associated with the most formal language, Latin; while in Literature they went with the least formal. It was in this second capacity that, in the earliest days of printing, *Bastard Secretary* furnished the model for that type, also known as *Bastard*, which was generally used for works in the vernacular.

So far we have seen three developments. First we had the distinction between *Text*, controlled by strict rules, and the *Free Hands* developing as currency demanded; then we saw the distinction between the informal and the formal varieties of *Free* hand and for convenience dubbed the latter *Set Hands*; and then we came to the differentiation from these last of a hand truly *set* because it became fixed in a definite form, the hand which, following the Elizabethans, we have called *Bastard Secretary*. We come now to certain specialized and localized *Set Hands*, those used in the great Courts of Royal Administration. Detailed investigation of these is even less advanced than that of *Bastard Secretary*, and I will content myself with hazarding the suggestion that three may be regarded as probably specializations from it: that is to say that if we go back far enough we shall find all the courts using for their formal purposes something closely

akin to *Bastard Secretary*; and that further development in the case of the Chancery and Legal Courts took the form of working out a special handwriting which was based upon it. The case of the Exchequer is not quite the same. In the example of Exchequer hand given here (Plate III) we have a hand closely akin to that of the Chancery and doubtless developed along the same lines.¹ This, however, is the hand of the *Memoranda Rolls*², of the titles on the *Port Books*, which were sent out from the Exchequer to Customs officials in the various ports, and so forth. The hand of the oldest of all Exchequer Records, the *Pipe Roll*³, is different from these; it appears, so far as I know, in no other record except the closely connected *Enrolled Accounts*⁴, and it is unknown to, or at least not described by, the writing masters; and I suggest that it results from a history peculiar to itself.

The *Pipe Roll*, unlike all other enrolments, was always written in something of a formal hand; there is no period during which it was written in a small current one, and I suggest that the writing in which it appears in Elizabethan times owes at least something to direct tradition and unbroken practice; certainly some of its most striking Elizabethan forms, such as a ridiculous oblong *S*, are due to this.

Summarizing, then, we may say that the Tudor period derived from its predecessors a *Text Hand* in which many of its books were printed and which it used on occasion for written headings, and a large group of *Free Hands* which represented the progressive currency in handwriting for

¹ It is possible that the new Augmentation Office of the Tudors took a considerable part in the development of those *set hands* which the later Tudor period brought to perfection.

² The present example is from *K.R. Memoranda Rolls*, 334.

³ Illustrated in my former paper.

⁴ It is also seen, of course, in that extract from the *Pipe Rolls*, the *Quietus*, which is sometimes found in private collections.

business purposes of five centuries ; also a *Bastard Secretary* which had developed at least two centuries earlier out of the then existing form of *Secretary* ; also a set *Chancery Hand* and a set *Legal Hand* (this last used by the King's Bench as well as the Court of Common Pleas, though the Elizabethans named it after the latter) which were developed later still, probably out of the *Bastard Secretary* ; further, a formal hand of the *Exchequer* approximating closely to that of the *Chancery* ; and finally, a special hand used by the *Exchequer* for its *Pipe Roll*. We may attempt later a description of the special features of some of these as they are seen in our plates : for the moment let us turn to the two hands which the Tudor period did not inherit but acquired.

The history of the development of these hands—Roman and Italic—outside England is so well known that we need do no more here than to recall the main facts. One small feature of the Renaissance in Italy was a discontent with the existing handwritings. The reformers there did what all reformers of handwritings, from Charlemagne's writing masters downwards, have done—they went back to forms more closely modelled on the original Roman ; and they produced a beautiful book-hand strongly reminiscent of the fine hands of the eleventh century : this is the hand which was printed at Subiaco in 1465 and, with a little more rounding and a few other developments, the hand upon which the best 'Roman' type has been based ever since. The usual development followed—the formation of a business hand out of this formal one by a process of currency ; but this time currency went a new way and, moreover, was not allowed to grow as it would, but was carefully cultivated, directed, and, for a time, restrained. This new current hand was adopted by the Papal Curia for certain purposes so early as 1431. Hence grew and spread the *Scrittura Cancelleresca*, the sloped and pointed Italic upon which Aldus based the type for his

Virgil in 1501. Travellers and Italian residents abroad carried this new hand to France and other countries. Its spread was not rapid at first: two types of writers used it—the men of the world, travelled folk, who employed it often for no more than their signature, and scholars. This last aspect of it led to a rather curious development in England. The period was that in which the quite informal letter couched in the vernacular was usurping, in the hands of those administrative parvenus the King's Secretaries, that chief place as an executive instrument in public administration in this country which had originally been taken by the formal Chancery letters under the great seal: by a kind of revulsion (and moved, perhaps, a little by foreign example, to which England now lay more open) these Tudor administrators, for their most solemn documents, reverted to the use of Latin; and it became the habit to write these in the new script. In all probability the first person to use *Italic* in England was Petrus Carmelianus in his capacity as Latin secretary to Henry VII; and one of our best known native examples is a letter written by Ascham when occupying the same position under Queen Mary: it is interesting to note that so late¹ as this last date both the Queen who signs and the Secretary who writes, turn from the *Italic* to the *Secretary* hand as they turn from Latin to French or the vernacular.

III. ELIZABETHANS AND THE ART OF WRITING

We may now proceed to a more detailed examination of the Elizabethan scripts. Elizabeth's reign brings us to something near the high-water mark of current handwriting in this country: I do not say that all the writings which were

¹ Later examples still might easily be found. Thus John Rainoldes, writing from King's College, Cambridge, to Walsingham on 1 November 1580, uses Latin and the *Italic*; but writes to a friend on the same day in English, and in a *Secretary* hand (P.R.O., S.P. dom. Eliz. 144, nos. 2 and 3).

practised then were beautiful—indeed they were not; nor is it to be denied that some of the vilest writings in existence have come to us from this period. An unprecedented amount of writing was being done, and writing masters, if not their pupils, laboured as we have seen under the disadvantage of having to know at least seven distinct hands; not to mention fancy varieties, of which more later. In spite of this much was done in the direction of producing dignified, beautiful, and clear script; calligraphy became for a time a fashionable art. A book (Baildon's) on Handwriting appeared in 1571, though in this it must be confessed we were both behind and beholden to other countries.¹ Peter Bales, of whose writing Hollinshed tells a tale, was well known in 1575 and has left us an account of his contest with a rival twenty years later.² His *Writing School Master* was published in 1590: he not only taught at Oxford but was employed upon State business by Walsingham. One of Bales' rivals, John Davies of Hereford, the author of *The Muse's Sacrifice* and other books, also taught at Oxford and in London and is praised by Fuller as 'the greatest master of the pen that England in his days beheld'; his book, *The Writing Schoolemaster, or The Anatomy of Fair Writing*, of which Plate IX shows a page, was published in 1620 after his death. Moreover the State Papers, and indeed any considerable collection of the period, make it abundantly plain that the pursuit of the fine, and even of the curious, in handwriting not only went deep but spread very widely in England during Elizabeth's reign: and, as we shall see later, even the older administrative departments felt the impulse towards a beautification of their script. In fine, we are to think of the Eliza-

¹ Italy produced a writing book as early as 1514 and Tagliente's work (1524) had gone through eighteen editions (one published at Antwerp) by 1565. France published one in 1529 and Spain in 1548. For these and for the work of Baildon and his collaborators see the article already referred to, in this Society's *Transactions*, vol. III, pp. 41 ff.

² B.M., Harl. MSS. 675.

bethans as receiving and polishing in the case of every one of the older writings. The two new ones they received, as it were, ready polished; but these also did not suffer at their hands. Their work, particularly what they did to systematize and make the best of the old *Free Hands*, which Davies and his like glorified into an almost 'set' *Secretary Hand*, endured for a considerable time after the close of their period; but in all cases subsequent changes were processes of deterioration.

Concerning, now, our first two plates we need add little to what has already been said. The *Text* characteristics—uprightness, artificial angularity (for instance in *C*, *d*, *w*, and *x*) and the tendency to form letters separately will readily be noticed; as will also the *Secretary* ones—the current forms of numerous small letters (notice, for example, *d* and *x*), a certain amount of irregularity and, most remarkable perhaps of all, the tapering down strokes. The close general likeness between these fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth-century examples is also very clear, and it is enforced by an exact resemblance between many individual letters, including all those already mentioned; note, for example, the curve of the lower bow in *g* and the flourished *s* in *dilectus* (Plate I B) and *dais* (Plate II). A very important point about this *Bastard Secretary* is the almost infinite number of half castes between it and pure *Secretary*, of which we shall have more to say later, especially in relation to Plate VII: this plate, by the way, gives a good example of the use of a very large *text hand* for headings: the beautiful work on the outer covers of *Plea Rolls*¹ of the Tudor period is well known in the same connexion.

Plate III, the *Exchequer Hand* of a Memoranda Roll a little earlier than Elizabeth's reign, has already been mentioned: the special *Exchequer Hand* of the *Pipe Roll* was illustrated in my former paper, and it was so much the reverse of a popular hand in its own day that I have not thought it worth while to

¹ For example, those in the Museum of the Public Record Office.

repeat it here. The present illustration is a convenient one because, beginning with the last word of the fifth line, it gives us a copy of the deed of which we see the original in Plate VII : the endorsements on that deed show that a copy should also have been preserved (indeed they state that this has been done) on the dorse of the Chancery Close Roll ; but unfortunately, owing to carelessness or accident at the time, this enrolment seems as a matter of fact to have been omitted and we lose the opportunity we should otherwise have had of comparing not only a *Secretary* having *set*, or *Bastard Secretary*, tendencies with an *Exchequer* rendering, but both with a *Chancery* one. However, the *Chancery hand* in Plate IV gives us some idea of the differences.

It is probable that the *Chancery hand* was very widely practised even outside the Court to which it belonged : for documents to be presented at that Court by private suitors seem to have been written in it not infrequently, by (one presumes) the common scriveners : and it reached, as may be seen in our plate, a high standard of beauty, regularity, and ease of writing. The *Cursitors*, officials who wrote writs in the Chancery, had been incorporated in the fifteenth year of Elizabeth ; thanks to the efforts of Nicholas Bacon, who, as Keeper of the Great Seal, had interested himself seven years earlier in controlling and regularizing the position of the Chancery writers. They now became a body corporate and politic, consisting of twenty-four 'curcistae', and from this date onwards kept careful record of their proceedings. Recently their Admission Rolls (Plate IV) have come to light. The procedure of admission is interesting : in each case we have on the roll first the copy of a communication from the Chancellor to certain of the *Cursitors* setting forth that a vacancy has occurred, that so-and-so has been nominated to him (generally a relation of one of the existing *Cursitors*) and that he requires them to examine this candidate. Follows

the examination—three questions as a rule (two are illustrated here) requiring him to set out the writ suitable to a given case: the questions are written in *Secretary* but the candidate proceeds to answer them in his best *Chancery hand*. The candidate in the present case was one George Garth, whose family supplied at least three (probably more) Cursitors to the Office. After the examination comes the Examiners' recommendation, signed, and finally the appointment, signed by the Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal. It is not surprising that so elaborately fenced a corporation produced a very distinctive hand and, having formed it, kept it; and remarkably little variation was seen for a long time after the Elizabethan period: what is perhaps more curious is the excellence which the Cursitors maintained in spite of the enormous amount of monotonous work which they did; but that they did so may be seen in original writs of the period.¹ The writing was used not only for original writs but also for all important work in the Chancery, including the Enrolments; of which we may have to say a word more later. It is marked, as will be seen, by a great regularity; by an absence of tapering strokes; by comparative shortness of the strokes that extend above or below the line, which gives a great appearance of breadth to the individual letters; by a habit of writing the lines very close together; and by a *Text hand* trick of curving short strokes to the right (but very slightly) as they reach the line, this combining with their comparative breadth to give the letters a rounded appearance. It is the lack of this roundness (with a consequently increased angularity), together with its lack of the Chancery regularity, which chiefly distinguishes the *Exchequer hand* seen in the previous plate. The size is of no importance, the Chancery hand being frequently written much larger than it is in our example. The very typical small *m*, *n* and *u* written with practically no ties between the

¹ For example, those preserved among the *Concords of Fines*.

minims should be noticed : this was another of the ways in which the Chancery escaped the angularity of other hands (contrast, for example, the practice seen in the *Exchequer hand* in Plate III).

In Plate V we have six examples of the writing of the same writ (a *precipe*) : only the writ being a judicial, not an original, one they issue not from the Chancery but from the Court of Common Pleas and are in the *Set Hand* of that Court. All these six are taken at hazard from a single bundle (covering one term) of *Concords of Fines*. The differences are instructive, but it will be observed that certain peculiarities, distinctive of the legal hands, appear in all. One is the much greater size of the strokes which extend above or below the line, which completely alters the proportions of the individual letters and also makes it necessary to allow much more space between the lines than is done in the Chancery¹ ; another is the tendency to exaggerate bows and flourishes in all strokes which are or can be produced above or below the line (notice for example, the second limb of *b* and the flourish of initial *J*) ; another is the angularity, which is, once again, marked ; another the tendency to more highly current forms in some letters (such as *e* and *r*) ; and yet another a greater admission of the tapering stroke, though it is still rare in comparison with *Bastard Secretary*.

Elizabethans were a litigious folk, and much law business was toward in many families : and we may probably regard some form of *Legal* as the most likely of all the special *Set Hands* to influence the writing of a person outside the courts. This may serve to introduce the mention of a point which it is well to emphasize. We speak of all these handwritings as distinct ; and so they are : but they overlap. At any

¹ The differences to be observed in writing in the Chancery and in the Court of Common Pleas were, at least at a somewhat later date, very carefully laid down in Practice Books.

moment we may come across a heading which is not in plain *Text* but is certainly in a hand more formal than the normal *Bastard Secretary* (an example occurs in the smaller headings of Plate VII) ; crosses between *Bastard Secretary* and *Secretary* are, as we have already said, continual ; the Chancery scribe will use for headings a cross between his own script and *Text* : in fine, there must always be a number of cases which can only be described upon their individual merits. The point is one which will force itself yet more upon our attention when we come to consider the Elizabethan developments of the *Free (Secretary)* and *Italic Hands*, which now remain to be dealt with.

We have already remarked that the *Free Hands*, which, as the vehicle of the greatest amount of history and literature, are perhaps the most interesting of all these writings to the general reader, exhibit more than any other (even the Chancery) the force of the work of the Elizabethan writing master ; who evolved from them (as we see in Plate IX) a copybook writing so exact that it might almost be called a *Set Hand* ; and who won, we may add, for this writing, which was known as *Secretary*, a very considerable popularity, both in his own and subsequent times. The varieties of this hand, especially when it begins to be combined with the *Italic*, are so many that they will always, I think, defy detailed description or definition. There are, however, certain lines of development which may be distinguished : and towards this task we may make some preliminary contribution.

At the beginning of the Tudor period the business hands in common use might be arranged in two or three groups. There is the most formal, which might almost be described as a *Set Hand* and which partakes not a little of the nature of *Bastard Secretary*, of which we have a good, though late, provincial example in Plate VII, dating from the reign of Edward VI : there is the less formal hand, but with individual letters all

distinctly made, which we see in the first part of Plate VI (*temp.* Henry VIII): and there is the hand (the most representative, perhaps, of the descent of the *free hand* through the centuries ¹)—the hand which is current to the extent of representing whole letters by a horizontal stroke; which we see (though, again, this is not a very early example) in the first part of Plate VIII. This last is of the reign of Mary; and contemporary with it (they are indeed two examinations of a single person, Richard Uvedale, who was implicated in the Throgmorton plot) we find a hand (Plate VIII (n)) which, though in the shapes of its letters it shows little alteration from earlier varieties, is in style quite distinct. I venture to hazard the conjecture that this small, fine, upright hand (the earliest appearance of which is a point awaiting research) gives us a definite point of change from mediaeval to modern standards in the matter of the angle at which the pen is cut and the way in which it is held. It is at any rate clearly one of the ancestors of the typical *Secretary hand* of the finished Elizabethan Master such as Bayles, or John Davies, whose script is illustrated in Plate IX.

This last, though it belongs to the last part of Elizabeth's reign, is very typical and may serve as a convenient starting point for a survey of the definitely Elizabethan *Secretary* writings. Special attention should be paid to the alphabet set out at the head, with its variant forms of letters: one or two of these (especially the first *g* and the first *b*) show the influence of *Italic*, but on the whole the script is as strongly *Secretary* as we could desire. The forms of *e*, the second *g* and *b*, *p*, and *x* are particularly suggestive: and we should note the angle at the left side of the second *p*, the first *r*, and *v*. These last serve to illustrate the angular tendency in pure *Secretary hand*

¹ The Cely and Stonor Papers in the Public Record Office (published in the Camden Series by the Royal Historical Society) offer good examples of all grades of highly current hands at the end of the fifteenth century.

which made a cross between it and *Bastard Secretary* so easy at any time : such crosses, as we have said, occur frequently, and Baildon in his Writing Book even gives a special name, ' a small glosing hand ' to one which he illustrates. This alphabet of John Davies should be compared with the *Bastard* one of Baildon in Plate II.

Another point is suggested by Davies's alphabet. It is becoming very hard in the Elizabethan period to distinguish some hands on the strength of the formation of letters. There are two criteria for the distinguishing of scripts, that of style and that of form. Thus in the Elizabethan period the current hands may be distinguished from the *Text* by the shape of their letters—by form ; though general appearance (style) counts for something as well : the distinction between the *set hands* of *Chancery* and *Common Pleas* and the *Secretary* is perhaps more based on style than on form : the distinction between all these hands and *Italic*, on the other hand, is largely one of form, though style also enters into it. But when we come to the distinction between different kinds of *Secretary* we find that it is based almost entirely on style and is accordingly a difficult, not to say dangerous, operation.

With all reservations due to this last fact we may perhaps venture so far as to try and distinguish certain broad tendencies in the development of different styles of Elizabethan *Free* or *Secretary hand*. We will start with the rough sloping and the upright formal which we saw at a rather earlier stage, in Plate VIII. If I were forced to name these I would call the first (reminiscent, as we have said, of the fifteenth century hands) simply *Free hand* or *Rough Secretary* and the second *Secretary* (as coming nearest to the ideal set out for us by the writing masters). Out of the second of these develops the 'highly current secretary', familiar at quite an early date though represented in our illustrations by the writing of Reynolds, secretary to the Earl of Essex, reproduced in Plate X (A) ; and with a little

modification by that of Ben Jonson (Plate X (B)) : it is to be noted that however current this hand may be there is no leaving out of whole letters such as we see in the *Free hand*. The modification remarked in Jonson's hand is that in the direction of a slope to the right. This, perhaps due to the influence of *Italic*, is a marked feature of the later *Secretary* and indeed shows very clearly in Davies's *Copybook Hand* (Plate IX). It may introduce us to the most marked development of *Secretary* at the end of our period—the rounded and much sloped *Secretary hand* of which we have a moderate example in the Spenser document in Plate XI (A). This was probably the most popular form of *Secretary hand* after Elizabeth's reign (again the *Italic* was doubtless not without influence) and very numerous examples occur in business documents of all kinds—for example, in Bills and Answers in Chancery suits : some of them going to extremes in the matter of slope.

We turn to the two new hands. Of *Roman* we need not say anything here : naturally it was closely identified in the minds of Elizabethans with printing, and though some of the early MS. examples of it are beautiful they call for no special notice. *Italic* is different : from the first this hand in England is quite distinct from the printed variety¹ and, as we shall see later, an object not only of practice but of experiment. Taking for the moment the more ordinary manifestations of it we have in the first place that in which, in spite of its current origin, the writing is distinctly formal, the letters being in most cases separately written. The second part of the Earl of Hertford's letter to Henry VIII (Plate VI) is a good and typical example, though not a particularly beautiful one : it will be noticed that the Earl does not write it easily and intro-

¹ In my former paper I called attention to a curious special *Italic* type, imitating the written form of that hand, which was used in the next century on at least one occasion for printing forms for official purposes : the example belongs to the year 1672, but it is possible that earlier ones may come to light.

duces the *Secretary* forms of *c*, of conjoined *pp* and of superior *r*. Following this we have at least two strongly marked developments. First, the formal character persists, especially in signatures, as may be seen from that of the Earl of Southampton in Plate XII (B) and of Ben Jonson in X (B) and Spenser in XI (A); but with it goes a definite use of ties between letters, the chief agent of currency, and a relaxation of the formality outside the signature, as again appears from Southampton's letter. Then the writing masters, to judge from Davies's signature and from certain *Italic* headings used by Bales, seem to have been working for something very like a modern round hand; but this never attained great popularity in Elizabethan times, though examples of it are not infrequent.

A further development of currency produces a much smaller script such as that of Walsingham's clerk seen in Plate XII (A). It is perhaps this decreased size which is responsible for a very marked feature of Elizabethan *Italic*—the inter-mixture with it, in varying proportions, of *Secretary* forms. Walsingham's clerk, in this example, uses only a few; the most notable being his *c* and *t*, his *b* and his long *s*: other writers reverse the proportions. It is to be remembered that even when *Italic* had taken firm hold it still remained for a long time only an alternative to *Secretary*: a very large number, in fact, of the persons distinguished in Elizabethan history seem to have preferred some form of the *Secretary*,¹ even though they might sign in *Italic* and others (for example, Edward Alleyn, the actor, of whose writing much remains at Dulwich) lapse from the new into the old kind of script when they are hurried or for any other reason writing carelessly. This balancing between the two was also undoubtedly responsible in part for the large number of mixed hands to which we have already referred.

¹ Taking only a haphazard survey for the purpose of illustration one finds Bacon, Coke, Sir Julius Caesar, Drake, Gresham, Ben Jonson, the Earl of Leicester, and Spenser all included in this category.

An interesting example of one of these is given in our Plate XI (B), a holograph draft for a letter in the hand of Queen Elizabeth. The Queen, we know, could and did write a sightly, rather formal, *Italic*; but on this occasion she was drafting a letter, in a very bad temper, to Henry III of France and may be presumed to have had neither time nor inclination for the graces. More than one example of this form of writing by the Queen are known, but the present one is a recent discovery. In style it is distinctly reminiscent of the older *Free hand* of our earlier Plate (VIII (A)) but there are also strong suggestions of the *Italic* though a surprisingly large number of the letters are in the old forms.

With this second example of the mixed hand we must leave the *Italic*, launched upon the line of development which it followed during the next century: a few of the *Secretary* forms died very hard and it was not till the eighteenth century,¹ by which time it had lost most of its early grace and was well on towards our modern styles, that the *Italic* finally emerged triumphant.

IV. REMAINING TOPICS

So far our attempt to survey and roughly classify the Elizabethan hands. Many topics remain for which there is little space. In the first place we must mention the group of questions which arise apropos of the detailed development of the various hands we have enumerated. Some of these have been already suggested: we have conjectured, for example, that the special *set hands* were developed out of the *Bastard Secretary*: but the proof of this, and of the time when it occurred, an important point if we are to have a scientific knowledge of English hands,

¹ To take as an example a well-known document, the Duke of Marlborough's dispatches after Blenheim (in Cardonnell's hand) bear small but undoubted signs of *Secretary* influence.

awaits the zeal of some explorer who will be willing to go through and analyse long series of Patent Rolls, Feet of Fines, and others of the enormous continuous series which are so marked a feature of the English Public Records. Perhaps he may be rewarded by finding other schools of writing (in the Exchequer, for example) as highly developed as that of the Cursitors of Chancery. Then the immediate predecessors of the Elizabethans are by no means unworthy of attention, as indeed our illustrations show.¹ Moreover there are a number of points of interest concerning the development of individual letters: where, for example, did the Elizabethans get that Greek *e* which they use so freely? and what was the origin of the small angular *z*, the first of two shown in the alphabet in Plate IX?

Again, the possibility of foreign influence elsewhere than in the *Italic hand* suggests itself; and though the *set hands* of the Courts may probably be regarded as definitely English there is a very strong possibility that examination might show continental influence in the earliest forms of *Bastard Secretary*: it is perhaps significant that the Italian and Spanish Writing Masters appear to regard this style of writing as French.

Yet again, we have hinted that Materials might be found to have something to do with the developments of current writing: here there is quite a considerable amount of small research to be done; partly in alliance with a Chemist, for in the matter of paper and ink (the Tudor period is responsible at least for popularizing a new, heavily carboned ink) little has been done so far. As to pens (perhaps the most important matter from our point of view) nothing, I think, has been done at all.

We pass to the question of Nomenclature; and upon this I would like to dwell at a little more length. If the study of

¹ Fine examples of writing in various styles are to be found, for example, in the records known as *Surrenders to Cardinal's College* (temp. Henry VIII).

English Current Hands is to be scientifically followed, the nomenclature of the subject must first have some attention. I have no desire to go beyond the Writing Masters and invent separate names for different styles of *Italic* or *Secretary hand*; a distinction between the two, or a statement that in a particular case they are mixed, with some superficial description of salient characteristics, such as 'rough', 'highly current', 'formal', 'sloped', 'rounded' are the most we can hope for. But we have said that a serious study of the hands of this period must be connected on to the study of earlier ones, and here there is more scope. We have used throughout this paper Elizabethan titles for the majority of the hands we have had occasion to mention. These names have the advantage that they are not modern inventions—they are contemporaries, though late ones, of the writings to which they apply. The question is whether we can make enough of this Elizabethan phraseology (the first Writing Masters' phraseology that has come down to us), or failing that whether we can supplement it sufficiently to enable us to get rid of our present fashion in nomenclature.

I venture to suggest with all deference that there is very little to be said for our present loose use of such terms as 'Charter hand', 'Enrolment hand' and 'Register hand'; based as they are on the suppositions that a particular class of business document may be expected to be always in a particular kind of current hand and, on the other side, that a particular kind of hand is reserved for one kind of document. At no time—with the single exception of the Pipe Roll and the Pipe Roll hand—was there any such practice in this country; we continually find that half a dozen documents of the same class and the same date differ widely according to the fancies of the scribes who wrote them. The point is of some importance, and I would venture to give here one out of many possible illustrations. The Enrolment hand of the Chancery begins (in

the thirteenth century) by being the most current or *free* small hand it is possible to conceive; this while original charters are still being written with an extreme formality: it shares, that is to say, the handwriting used by every variety of informal document. In the first part of the next century it improves, but still remains informal compared with the hands of the originals. After this we reach a stage when both originals and enrolments are written in a *set hand*, closely resembling the *Bastard Secretary*: later still both use the new *set hand of the Chancery*. At the same time other enrolments (such as those of the Exchequer and Receipt) are undergoing a totally different series of calligraphic adventures. How then can we use with any accuracy, at any period the terms 'Charter hand' and 'Enrolment hand'? The same thing is true outside the Official classes: for example there are only two known original charters of Chertsey Abbey which belong to the period at which the Cartulary (illustrated in Plate I) was written; and of these one is in the handwriting of our Plate and the other in the second of the two principal hands used:¹ under such circumstances a distinction between *Charter* and *Register* or *Enrolment* hand clearly becomes impossible.

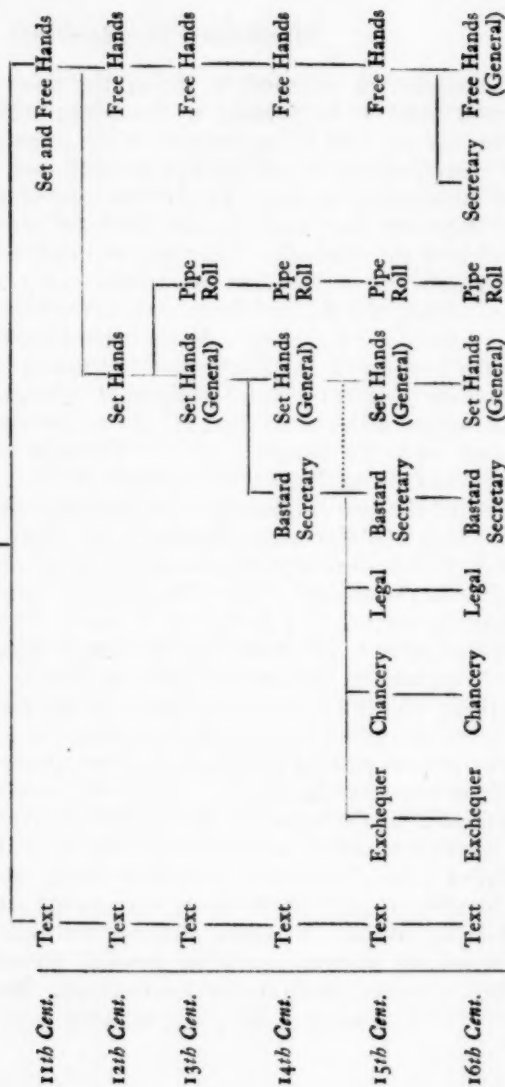
Now, looking through the summary history of current handwriting which I ventured to give in the earlier part of this paper, we shall find a regular development, by stages which are quite simple and well marked, from a single writing used for all purposes in the tenth century down to a range of nine (exclusive of the imported *Roman* and *Italic*) in the sixteenth. I have ventured to set out the descent in the form of a genealogical table. Of these nine five—*Text*, *Bastard Secretary*, *Chancery*, *Legal*, and *Secretary*—are known to the Elizabethan Writing Masters in quite definite forms. We cannot, at present, say in every case when precisely these forms emerged: that is a matter awaiting further research. But surely we may,

¹ See Surrey Record Society, *Chertsey Cartulary*, p. v.

SUGGESTED DESCENT OF ELIZABETHAN HANDS (excluding the Roman and Italic)

NOTE.—The Dates are merely approximate.

*An Original Common Hand used for
both Treatises and Business Documents*



and should, apply their known and correct names to these hands whenever they are found? Of the remaining four names one—the *Exchequer hand*—is on the same footing, as has already been shown, with other recognized official hands and I think will make good its claim, upon examination, to be reckoned a separate species: another, the Pipe Roll hand, is in a class by itself, as belonging to certain well known documents and to them only.

There remain two names—those of the (*general*) *Set hand* and the (*general*) *Free hand*. I make no claim to acceptance for these names if any one can evolve better ones to express what they express—the general classes of

(1) current hands written according to Rule;

(2) current hands written according to Fancy;

before definite species with permanent forms have been differentiated off from them. Some names we must have to describe these otherwise nondescript classes; and these two have been arrived at after a good deal of discussion.¹

It is perhaps worth while to point out, in concluding this section of our work, that the presence of the two general classes does not preclude any one, after further research, from establishing the existence of differentiated classes additional to the Bastard Secretary, Chancery, &c., given here: and (once again) that all classes do, and are bound to, overlap sometimes. I can only hope that some such classification as this may presently be adopted generally as a first step to scientific study of English current handwritings.

I pass to one or two topics of more directly Elizabethan interest. Abbreviations, old and new, call for careful study: even the illustrations to the present paper give examples of this; Elizabeth's own use of abbreviations, for example, being

¹ Especially with my colleague Mr. C. G. Crump, to whom I am much indebted. I should personally be inclined to apply the name *Secretary* to all *Free hands* at a much earlier date than the sixteenth century: but that point may be allowed to wait.

quite suggestive. Like the *Secretary* form of writing, they died hard: and some of them lingered on after their meanings had been all but lost. With the abbreviations may be mentioned the subject of Runes—the survivals of Anglo-Saxon letters. A study of the way in which these, after disappearing almost entirely, come back into common use when the vernacular emerges as an official language at the end of the mediaeval period is extraordinarily interesting: giving us, as it does, a definite light on the local and popular writing schools which must have kept them alive.

The subject of what may be called the prettinesses of Elizabethan writing—and the pedantries—is one which I leave aside with great regret. The Elizabethan age might be described as one in which everything was tremendously worth while because everything was great fun. This zest in life the people of that period extended to their practice of writing. We have seen something of their by no means contemptible powers of decoration in formal handwriting. But in their private writing, and particularly in their signatures, many, most of them, displayed a most energetic ingenuity. Commonly this took the form of flourishes—generally an arrangement of interlaced loops: but in addition they had the resource of peculiar writing. I know of no name for the writing in which all letters are of the same height—sometimes with the added peculiarity of abnormal narrowness, but with various modifications it was much used, as may be seen in the Spenser and Southampton signatures illustrated here.¹ Other peculiar writings had names—the *lettre coupée*, *lettre patée*, *lettre entrelacée*, *Roman semi-supine*, *lettre frisée*, and so forth. The last-named, a style in which the strokes waver like the edge of a Malay kris, was used quite commonly for a long while, and I have seen an example of it in a Parish Register

¹ Compare the well-known signature of Essex, who, by the way, signed also E. and S.X. in writing to the Queen.

of so late as the eighteenth century : it is generally mistaken for an indication of palsy.

I would conclude with one more subject of wide interest, that of autographs and signatures. It is one of the great impediments to historical and literary research, especially that dealing with the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, that there is so small a body of accurate and easily available information as to the writing of people of importance in the past. At the Institute of Historical Research an attempt is at present being made to remove this difficulty by means of a card catalogue of handwritings—a work which to be really useful will need to be of great volume, and will call for the co-operation of all scholars working in every field in which English documents are a material of research.¹ It may be considered not unsuitable to close this paper with one remark on this subject—the remark that criteria for the attribution of a piece of handwriting to a definite person are at present extraordinarily vague. For example, it is apparently not known generally that in the Elizabethan period (and later) a clerk taking down or copying a deposition might himself sign it with the name of the deponent : I believe it could easily be established that quite frequently he would give an air of verisimilitude by writing the signature in a different hand. More, a secretary writing his master's letters might do this : the somewhat confidential letter of Essex to Queen Elizabeth, signed E., of which a part is shown in our Plate X (A) might quite well be in the hand of Essex (supposing him, as is not impossible, to have varied his usual *Italic* hand to *Secretary* on this occasion) : it is by pure chance that Reynold's own private letters have survived and give us the key to this writing. Examples of the same kind might be multiplied : Walsingham's secretaries, for instance, frequently write as though

¹ I should be very glad to give information as to this Catalogue to any who may be interested.

they were himself: the one who wrote the piece from which our Plate XII (A) is taken, for example endorsed it 'Copie of my letter. . . .'¹ Attribution, therefore, must clearly be a matter for considerable caution and for careful scrutiny of evidence other than that offered by the writing itself; especially when we are concerned with the hands of persons who have left us very little on which to base our judgements, and who perhaps complicate the matter by writing in *Secretary* and signing in *Italic*, or even by using indifferently both hands, of which we may generally assume them to have been by training capable; and I think it is not unfair to say that in the past even great authorities have been sometimes very casual in this matter.

Two final examples, drawn from our previous illustrations, may illustrate the difficulties to be met—the difficulties in point of fact which the present writer met when he innocently selected those two examples solely on account of their handwriting, and then turned to the authorities for information as to their value as autographs. The Earl of Hertford's letter (Plate VI) is half in *Secretary* and half in *Italic hand*: and apparently on the strength of this it is generally stated that the second part is in the hand of the Earl. But is there not at least a possibility that the Earl (who certainly would have had both handwritings) wrote the whole? In point of fact another letter in the same collection² from him and H. Maltravers is in the same *Secretary hand*; and this has, after the two signatures the words 'Postscript/Whereas this last night the wind did not serue for this berer his passing ouer to Douer this morning I Therle of Hertford being advertysed . . .': and this postscript, which is not signed, is again in the same *Secretary hand*. I leave it to my readers to decide whether

¹ See the Editor's note in *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, 1581, 1582, p. 292.

² *State Papers, Henry VIII*, 165, f. 7; cf. *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, xvi. 592.

this is an evidence that the *Secretary hand* is Hertford's own, or an example of the fact, referred to above, that secretaries had an uncomfortable habit of writing in their masters' names.

My second illustration is furnished by the Spenser document, Plate XI (A). I cannot attempt here to go into the tangled subject of this poet's handwritings: I will merely summarize. The British Museum possesses one specimen and the Record Office nine of documents with Spenser's signature attached. A number of the Record Office ones are documents in *Secretary hand*, certified, generally, with the words *Vera Copia* in *Italic*, by the poet in his capacity as Secretary to Lord Grey. In his edition of the Works of Spenser published in 1882-4, Grosart attacked the British Museum specimen as an impudent forgery (probably by Payne Collier) on the strength of one of the Record Office documents, a Latin letter copied (not unnaturally, as it was in Latin) in *Italic*: of which he published a facsimile as of a holograph production of Spenser: he gave no evidence in support of this. At the same time he cited six other documents in the Record Office having Spenser's signature. Amongst other matters which escaped, surprisingly, this scholar's attention, was the fact that, superficially at least, one or two of these documents bear a very strong resemblance in point of handwriting to the condemned British Museum one. At the same time Dr. Grosart accepted without question an E. S. at the end of the Lambeth MS. of the *View of the State of Ireland* as the work of Spenser, though it is quite unlike the initials in any known signature: and again ignored the possibility that one of the numerous *Secretary hands* in which the book was written might compare interestingly with the British Museum specimen.

Soon after, H. C. Hamilton, editing the *Calendar of Irish State Papers*, published a document unknown to Grosart, the one we have here reproduced: he ignored the fact that it did

not agree with Grosart's theory, and labelled it simply 'Autograph'; again without giving authorities. In the same volume he published a document which he described as 'autograph: endorsement by Edmund Spenser'. I am not clear what this means, but am disposed to agree that the differences of ink and other peculiarities of this document may hide the fact that there is more of the poet's writing in it than his signature. In the introduction to a later volume in this series, in 1895, the Editor (once more without any authorities) accepts the document before us as a genuine holograph. And in 1899 the learned Editor of the British Museum facsimiles compared the Record Office document with the British Museum one, and accordingly published the latter as genuine.

There, put very shortly and with many curious cross questions (such as the exact implication of the words *vera copia*) purposely omitted, is the puzzle; upon which I will deliver no judgement beyond saying that, as Spenser, like every one else in the learned world of his period, certainly wrote both the *Secretary* and the *Italic* hand, I see no reason why both the documents should not be genuine; and that I should not be surprised if more of the *Secretary* documents certified by Spenser proved upon close examination to be in the hand of our facsimile.

The last remark may very well serve to bring this paper on Elizabethan handwritings to a close; for it emphasizes what is indeed the point to be emphasized in every connexion with regard to this subject—the necessity for more, and more detailed, study.

Handwritten text in the right margin, likely a library or collection stamp, including the name "John Rymer" and "Cancellarius mdo - outin".

Et Edwardus rex gratia Dei Anglorum Francie et Normannie Comes Palmarum Dilecti et fideles nostri Johes Lingues Cancellarius noster et aliam
pro nobis et heredibus nostris Thome filii Johis de Pontevic suo seu dilectis noster et suis noster et dilectum in Comiti Pontis
noster ad gratiam pro nobis dimittit et ipsi ex hac causa manumissionem et ab omni condicione sua eximunt. Nos
debitum suum pro eis. Suis eub primario sigillo nostro apud Wyndesore. xvij. die Aprilis. Anno regni nostri dñi qui

(A)

Anno Domini Supradicto
Littera excellentissimi principis et illustrissimi Regis Edwardi tertii de concessione
cartam patronate de Wyndesore et aliam ad instantiam venerabilis patris dñi
viri et conventus Wyndesore pro finem factum super dicto Regi. Anno Domini millesimo cccc.
et Anno Pontificatus ipsius Clementis Sexti Sexti. et Anno Regni dñi Regis Ricardi
de pace priorum patris Abbatis Wyndesore.

Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Normannie
ad quos presentes littere pervenerint salutem Quibus quod
ali et pro quadam repta pecunie summa sua dilectus
Abbas de Wyndesore nobis in causam ipsam solutus
ita et dñi pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est

(B)



Bastard secretary

Best is that man that findeth a vertuous wife, for the
nombre of his daus shall be double. A vertuous woman is a
noble and excellent giste and there is no sweight of golde
to a mynde that can rule it selfe in prosperitie & aduersitie.



aabbccdddeeffggghhiijkkllmmnoo
ppqqrrrsssttuuvvwxxyyzzaa

to Justice (whose examination your grace shall receive
He never heard) At Hampton, 1591. And Mr. Wallop, saide
that if Sir God brought himself, to have offended your ma-
je. he woulde rather runne home and put himselfe to your
Graces hands, than to have abroad wth flounders to be
noted a false man, to your year, although Sir Maime
never promisede him for, and all of Sir God knowes, you
shd. toffende your Graces in any thinge, Sir God many
mentions (by means) before Sir Septimus out of favour

For this mat^r being of such weight and importance I
coulde fullill have forbore his apprehension if any
instructions had not bene expressly to the contrary.
Which caused me to examine Robert ap Iarnold before
him and in his presens to comit him to Ward / fould

PLATE I (A) : *Lines 1 and 2.*

Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et francie et dominus Hibernie. Dilcto et fideli nostro Iohanni Knyuet' Cancellario nostro . . . salutem | pro nobis et heredibus nostris Thome filio Roberti de Bouebrok' seruo seu villano nostro de dominio nostro de Okeham in comitatu Rotel' quod

[from Chancery Warrants, Ser. I, 445 : No. 30962.]

PLATE I (B) : *Lines 7, 8, and 9.*

dwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et francie et Dominus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem Sciatis quod ali et pro quadam certa pecunie summa quam dilectus

[from Exchequer, K.R., Misc. Books, 25, f. 19 v.]

PLATE II : *Lines 1, 2, and 3.*

A Bastard secretary

Blessed is that man that fyndeth a vertuose wife, for the nombre of his daïs shall be doble A vertuose woman is a

[from Baildon's *Booke containing diuers sortes of bandes.* 1571.]

PLATE III : *Lines 5, 6, and 7.*

Cuius quidem Scripti predici Episcopi tenor sequitur in hec verba ¶ Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Robertus permissione diuina Episcopus Oxoniensis salutem in domino sempiternam Sciatis me prelatum Episcopum certis

[from Exch., K. R., Memoranda Rolls, 334, Hil. Rec. m. 89.]

PLATE IV: Lines 1, 5, and 6

- ¶ Thomas Marmyon makes a lease to Raphe Jackett of howses in Rossetter for terme
 ¶ Regina viccomiti Wiltes' salutem. Si Anthonius Kyrbý fecerit te securum de clamio suo *prosequendo* tunc
summones per bonos | summonitores Radulphum Jackett quod sit coram Iusticiis nostris apud Westmonasterium
 in Octabis sancti hillarij . . ostensurus quare
 [from Chancery, Petty Bag, Books, Papers, &c., 15: Curator's Admission Roll, part 1, m. 5.]

PLATE V: Lines 1 and 2, and 11 and 12.

- Precipe Johanni Drurye Armigero quod iuste etc teneat Johanni Darcy 1 Armigero concessionem etc de Manerio de*
parva | duobus gardinis duobus pomariis Centum et quinquaginta acris terre triginta acris prati
 ¶ *Precipe Roberto Sheffielde Armigero quod iuste etc teneat Edmundo Clipsham' Concessionem etc de tribus acris*
prati et quinquaginta acris | Seaton' Et nisi etc.
 [from C.P. 24 (1) 17.]

PLATE VI: Lines 7, 8, and 9.

never so muche laide for, and also if he had knowen' him
 self toffende your highnes in any thinge, he had many
 monitions (by meanes) before his departure out of fraunce
 [from State Papers, Henry VIII, 165, f. 1.]

PLATE VII: Lines 1, 2, and 3.

Omnibus Christi fi
 in domino sempiternam Sciatis me prelatum Episcopum certis de causis et considerationibus me
 sexto dei gratia Anglie francie et Hibernie Regi fidei defensori et in terra ecclesie Anglicane
 [from P.R.O., Ancient Deeds, D. 10440.]
 1 e inserted later.

PLATE VIII (A)

xxijj Marcij The confession of Richard
Anno 1555 Vuedall.
He confesseth That henry Dudley
tooke a ¹ ferry bote ¹ by his house in
hamshire called chilleng/
That Bedill was with the same
Dudley.

[from S.P., Dom. Mary, 7, No. 31.]

PLATE VIII (B) : Lines 1 and 2.

The examination of Richard Vuedall¹ the xxiiijth of
Marche *Annis Regnorum domini Regis et domine Regine secundo et tercio.*
[Ibid., No. 32.]

PLATE IX : Lines 2, 3, and 4.

May it please your good Lordship to bee advertized that wee have according to your honour—
precept or Commandement apprehended the severall persons therein nominated
and have with all possible circumspection conveyed them to them in the common
[from *The Writing Scholemaster*, by John Davies.]

PLATE X (A) : Lines 1, 2, and 3.

By the warrant of your gracious goodnes (most deare and moste—
admir'd Sourain) I present these humble lynes beggyng neyther
matter of profit, nor restitucon¹ to office, but a gracious—
[from S.P., Dom., Elizabeth, 275, No. 85.]

PLATE X (B) : Lines 1 and 2.

If it shall please your Lordship I shall yet make
farder triall, and that you cannot in the meane time be pro=
[S.P., Dom., James I, 16, No. 30.]

¹ to ¹ inserted above line : shippeng struck through.

PLATE XI (A): *Lines 1, 2, and 3.*

7/8./To the vijth¹ and¹ vijth¹ he sayth that as yett he hath not made
any division of his landes to his tenants, for that his patent
is not yett passed vnto him, nor his landes established.

[from S.P., Ireland, Elizabeth, 144, No. 70.]

PLATE XI (B): *Lines 1, 2, and 3.*

Monseieur mon frere Le viel. argument sur qui
J'ay basti souuent mes lettres me semble
si extreme/ment ebranle que suis Contrainct

[from S.P., Foreign, France, 17, No. 3.]

PLATE XII (A): *Lines 1, 2, and 3.*

me did minester vnto me two particuler comfortes. The one that
your mislike conceived of my dealings with the D. is in part qualified.
Th'other, for that it hath pleased your Maiestie to lay open vnto me your

[from S.P., Foreign, France, 6, No. 13.^a]

PLATE XII (B): *Lines 1, 2, and 3.*

as I must euer in the highest degree esteeme
so will I still endeour to deserue it by the best
Service I may doe you and so in hast take my leau[e]

[from S.P., Dom. Eliz., 264, No. 35.]

¹ vijth and inserted above line.

^a This letter is printed in Digges, *Compleat Ambassador*, p. 390.



S in dno simplici manu Statie me pstatim Epus ecclesie de ransio et consuetas me di
 scoto dei gra Anglie Francie et Silerie Regis pdr de se infen et in terra ecclesie Anglie
 postua pstatim idas xpsa impura et me d' marie hysos sublosos veduo et et et et et
 Capellane Cantuarii quapnday fcod milite warid marilag et fcaet velenia heret fmi
 profona comedatoy et molinmilla et hereditamentis mea quoniam tunc ego pstatim
 siluat iacten et consilium proreueren et pstatim venorad in vllis tunc pstatim pstatim
 et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim
 et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim
 inde pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim
 et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim et pstatim pstatim
 in me ver lsten ego pstatim Epus d' me pstatim pstatim meo et pstatim
 Regis fcaet de pstatim et in terra ecclesie Anglie et pstatim pstatim

every thing to satisfaction of highest
a^d vbbh
vndred.



So much Mr. Taylor for 2 and 2
both together 2 did long in
and few more stilling
the audience was with me
and.

The Examination of England and all the young of
Manly the first and last of the young of the first.

Must be sayd that about 40 dayes before Candlemas dayes laste John Throckmorton came to this excommunicate house called Spelling in Hampton this excommunicate this beinge on ymme was Mr Richard Cotton himselfe) where upon a newe ploughshare of this one excommunicate called Walenhouse was put and for Richard Cotton to hym to declare to hym that there was a wellman at his house come thither to speak with hym: by a reason this excommunicate put answered that if rather not wold come home that might it was said but on thy next morrowe he would come home.

The next movements at night the Germans came from accordingly and kindred.

M
 a b a r d o o e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z

as it please yo good L: to be admittid. that severall have according to yo L: no
 writen or committid and appoynted. for severall. persons by their nommation
 and L: and with L: all possible convenience sendeth to yo L: in person
 order for to yo County of Northumberland, to the best mindfully by the
 bringer of yo L: that have since L: as yo L: to according to yo trust in the ro:
 yett; and further have undestand yo further pleasure touching them. and
 will do therein accordingly. Do. have humbly take. L: words. L: 7 of 8

To. James of Hert.

11/10/11
 Mr. Wm. C. Cope of paper for Dr. Lays Express
 and addressing of Dr. Lays of English people from Dr.
 Land, for Dr. Lays Express,

3
Monsieur me ferez li vielorgiens et sur que
D'ay besty sont entz en l'abitte d'un tant ble
de extrême est de brabie que sans Contrepoint
changer li s'abitte d'un siore de Gracie
adous tirs planctifs Contrepoint is li b. Voud
forment a Crain que si sont bonis en
60 gait li a supprement de l'oppression

XI. (A) SECRETARY HAND (Sloped Style). (*Late Elizabethan*)
(B) MIXED ITALIC AND SECRETARY HANDS

I am did minister to me / two particular comforts. The one
 you minister remained of my dealings wth G^d. is in part good
 for you, for I in part pleased wth this to lay open before me
 disposition to my wings & I have admitted before me in part of my
 wth a same as a laborer & labor to direct my course. For
 (G^d I hope I hope when you will be able to possibly find me I of my
 proceedings, & do still find I have not from G^d direction of

(A)

as I must ever in the highest degree esteem
 to will I still endeavor to oblige it by the best
 service I may do you as so in best take my leave
 remain yours

(B)

most assuredly yours
 & his accompanied

J. L. Smith

From aboard the
 29 of July

XII. CURRENT ITALIC (Elizabethan)

(A) With some Secretary forms. (B) Pure Style

"THE REFUSAL OF YE HAND

A MOCK-HEROICAL POEM "

By PROFESSOR G. C. MOORE SMITH

THE first quarter of the eighteenth century is to us, as regards England, the Age of Pope: as regards Cambridge, the Age of Bentley. That brilliant and indefatigable scholar and imperious character had become Master of Trinity in 1700, and soon began that contest with the Fellows of his College which lasted a year longer than the Peloponnesian War. In 1718, though head of the most famous of royal foundations and Regius Professor of Divinity, he was deprived by the University of all his degrees: they were not restored till 1724. But masterful and quarrelsome as he was to the public, he was beloved in his home, and to a large circle of young Trinity men he was known less as a scholar or a tyrannical ruler than as the father of two beautiful daughters, Elizabeth or Betty, and her still more brilliant sister, Joanna or Jug.

The admiration which these young ladies aroused may be well seen in a letter written by a young Fellow of St. John's, Vere Foster, on 6 May 1722¹:

'I shall give you what has been a long time the vogue at every tea-table in college, namely Mr. Prior's *Lamentation for the Loss of Mrs. Joanna Bentley*:

"That melting languish, and that look divine,
That heaven of charms, those charms which once were mine,
... But O! the lordly haughtiness of mien,
And all the father in the daughter seen!

¹ See J. Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, i. 224.

... The back-door now, scene of my past delight,
 To Mason¹ opens every conscious night.
 ... Is this the man, is this the mighty Hee,
 That insolently dar'd to rival me!
 Henceforth shall Nightingale be matched with Owl,
 And Spicer with immortal Molly Fowle.²
 ... Malignant Fates me Betty too deny,
 That other excellence of all her kind,
 Blest with her sister's charms and beauteous mind.
 Her too whole droves of fools with ardour view."'

Elizabeth Bentley was married later to Humphrey Ridge, and Joanna in 1728 to Denison Cumberland. Richard Cumberland the dramatist was her son. She had been celebrated by John Byrom at the age of eleven.³

If Cambridge in those days looked on Dr. Bentley as its greatest personality, it looked on Sturbridge Fair as the greatest event in its year. It will be remembered that in the Middle Ages this fair was one of the most important in Europe, and in the eighteenth century it still had a glory which it does not retain to-day.

The fair was proclaimed early in September by the Vice-Chancellor or the Mayor, who officiated in alternate years. Gunning tells us how after fortifying themselves at 11 a.m. in the Senate House with mulled wine or sherry and cakes, the Vice-Chancellor, with all the rest of the University

¹ According to Nichols, Charles Mason, afterwards D.D., Fellow of Trinity, and Woodwardian Lecturer.

² Nichols explains that Molly Fowle was 'a Cambridge beauty and daughter of an alderman, on whom the Rev. Mr. Hans de Veil . . . made the following epigram:

"Is Molly Fowle immortal? No.
 Yes, but she is—I'll prove her so.
 She's fifteen now, and was, I know,
 Fifteen full fifteen years ago."

³ See *Poems of John Byrom* (Chetham Society), ed. A. W. Ward, pp. 3, 4. I owe the references to Nichols and Byrom to Professor C. H. Firth.

officials, drove out to the fair-ground (a cleared cornfield about half a mile square) two miles down the Cam, where the proclamation was read by the Registry in the carriage with the Vice-Chancellor, and repeated by the Yeoman Bedell on horseback in three different places. After which the company alighted at the Tiled Booth and along with Masters of Arts who had not been in the procession partook of oysters and ale or porter. After a turn in the fair, the party returned to the same room for dinner, not to break up till about 6.30, when they adjourned to the theatre.

Nichols tells us that during the fair-time 'coaches, chaises and chariots attended in Cambridge marketplace to carry persons to the fair', and that 'the shops or booths were built in rows like streets, each having its name, as Garlick Row, Booksellers' Row, Cook-row, &c.' Every commodity had its proper place. There was the Cheese-fair, the Hop-fair, the Wool-fair, &c. 'And here are all sorts of traders, who sell by wholesale or retail as goldsmiths, toymen, brasiers, turners, milliners, haberdashers, hatters, mercers, drapers, pewterers, China-warehouses, and in a word, most trades that can be found in London, from whence many of them come: here are also taverns, coffee-houses and eating-houses in great plenty and all kept in booths.' 'The chief diversions at Sturbridge are drolls, rope-dancing, and sometimes a music-booth: but there is an act of parliament which prohibits the acting of plays within ten miles of Cambridge.'

So Nichols writes in 1790: and we know that Bentley as Vice-Chancellor in 1701 vetoed performances which were to have been given without his licence. But soon afterwards plays were permitted: Gunning tells us that about 1780 there was a theatre which belonged to the Norwich Company and which was patronized almost every evening during the three weeks the fair lasted by Dr. Farmer, Master of Emmanuel, and other lovers of the drama in the University. And the

attendance of the Norwich Company at the fair seems to have gone back to the early part of the century.¹

Some lively pictures of Cambridge life in the time of Bentley and of Bentley's own household, are contained in a poem *The Refusal of y^e Hand* imperfectly preserved in Harl. MS. 7332 fo. 224. The work is an imitation of *The Rape of the Lock* and like it is in five Cantos. Unfortunately in the Harleian MS. the latter part of the fourth Canto and the early part of the fifth are wanting. There is no indication of authorship. Internal evidence points to the end of 1723 as the date of composition, i. e. somewhere between Richard Bentley's election to his fellowship in 1723 and Dr. Bentley's restoration to his degrees in 1724. The incidents would then occur at the Fair of 1723, which was 'proclaimed' by the Vice-Chancellor. The story seems to be based on an incident which actually occurred, and to refer somewhat transparently to actual people. This is made more certain by what follows.

The poem—with the names of its characters changed and personal allusions removed—was printed about 1740 as *Stirbitch Fair: a mock Heroick Poem*. The book appears to be rare. There is no copy in the British Museum or the University Library, Cambridge, and the one copy that I have seen, that in the Bodleian, wants the titlepage and the final leaf. It contains, however, a List of Subscribers which perhaps may give a clue to the authorship. For example while Mr. Richard Chase of Bennet College (now called Corpus) subscribes for one copy, Mr. William Chase subscribes for '12 books'. Is he the author's father? Again Mr. John Browne of Caius College subscribes for one copy, as does Mr. Robert Brown, Merchant, and Mr. Henry Browne subscribes for '3 books'. The list contains the names of five Mr. Brookes,

¹ On Sturbridge Fair see J. Nichols's 'History of Sturbridge Fair,' *Bibliotheca topographica Britannica*, xxxviii, pp. 77-83; Gunning's *Reminiscences*, i, pp. 162-73; J. E. B. Mayor's *Life of A. Bonwicke*, pp. 153-65.

of Miss Catherine Crask, and two Miss Fransham's, of Mr. John Arnam of Bennet College, Mr. John Freeman of Emanuel College, Mr. Dan. Fromanteel of Bennet College, Mr. John Smith of Caius College and of five gentlemen, styled 'Comedian,' namely Mr. Thomas Pitt, Mr. Charles Platt, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Upton, and Mr. Woodward. They probably belonged to the Norwich Company who figure in the story. The poem *Stirbitch Fair*—much altered as has been said from *The Refusal of y^e Hand*—has its five Cantos complete. It is followed by *Miscellanies* which show the author's connexion with Norwich.

The first poem *To the Norwich Ladies* contains a reference to Stephen Duck, Queen Caroline's librarian, and Merlin's Cave, her library, both commemorated by Pope.¹ As Stephen Duck only received his office in 1735, and the allusion here is probably suggested by Pope's of 1737, we may put the date of publication of *Stirbitch Fair* c. 1740. Then we have a poem *On the motto at St. Giles', Norwich*, an 'Acrostic' ('MOLLY FENN') *On Miss C.C.*—she is called Crassinda, and is evidently the subscriber Miss Catherine Crask. This fair lady is referred to in another poem, *Ode to the Musick-Club at the Maid's Head in Norwich*, where we have the lines

'To hear the soft bewitching strain
Which C—k and he does well maintain.'

The only poem in the Bodleian copy which I have not mentioned is one *On Miss T.* The lady is called 'Trissetta'.

We may now return to *The Refusal of y^e Hand*, the fresher form of the poem contained in the Harleian MS. The heroine is here called Hanaponta or Hanapunta, not Mariana as in the printed book, while the chief male character is called Gallus, not Manlius. The changes were probably made to increase the difficulty of identification. Possibly Hanaponta was a Miss Hanbridge, and Gallus a Mr. Fransham.

¹ *Imitation of Epp. II. 2 of Horace*, ll. 139, 140.

Hanaponta had been born at Cambridge and christened at All Saints' Church, but she is now living with her mother in London. However, as the time of 'Stirbitch' Fair draws near, she conceives the desire

'To make a visit to her Cambridge Friends . . .

When Gallantry 'mongst Sophisters is found

And Musick-Booths appear on Attick ground,'

and buys her place in the stage-coach.

Her Mother remonstrates :

'But think again to what a house thou go'st

An House where lives a celebrated Toast . . .

Her company will spoil or, what is worse,

Make you y^e Object of some Scribler's Verse.

May you not find this verified too soon

And grow like her immortal in Lampoon.'

A side-note which does not appear in the printed *Stirbitch Fair*, informs us that the 'celebrated Toast' was one Molly Fowl, in allusion to a line in an old lampoon 'And Spicer with immortal Molly Fowl'. Extracts from the lampoon have already been given, and the 'immortality' ascribed to the lady has been explained.

Omens, as in the *Rape of the Lock*, are against Hanaponta's enterprise. But she persists :

'I dream of Coffee-Booths and Square-cap'd Beaus.'

And so : 'She mounts y^e Coach, y^e Maid with all her might

Tuck't in her Hoop'

and she is bound for Cambridge. That is the end of Canto I.

To Cambridge the scene is transferred :

'And now y^e heads wth a peculiar care

Had eat y^{air} Oysters & proclaim'd y^e Fair,

Now ragged Sophs in haste thrô Barnwell pass

Nor stop at Mother Redhawks for a glass.

[in the later version : 'Nor stop at Mother Brands to take a glass.']

The Coaches rattle o'er y^e stony ground
With Stirbich ho ! the Cambridge Streets resound.'

The Fair has been proclaimed, and every young blood
bestirs himself to find a lady who will go to it under his
escort :

' Now to the Market hill young Gallus goes
Where numerous Hacks present y^mselves in Rows ;
" Mine, Master mine, come hither, Master, come,
I want one only to compleat y^e Summ "'

Having secured his equipage, he seeks the lady :

' And now our Heroe of immortal fame
Passt thro y^e shop & to y^e parlour came,
Where all y^e Nymphs in expectation sate.
Passing away y^e time in tea and chat.'

In this company of beauties, Gallus

' Offer'd his hand wth a respectful bow.
When Hanaponta to his vast surprize
Draws back in haste & thus her hand denies.
Pardon me Sir—take place of Mistress Fowle !
" Sooner shall nightingale be match'd with Owle." ¹
... Madam, s^d he, y^e F—ls are always here
You & y^e Fair come only once a year.'

' Thrice she refus'd.'

' Yet St—ns could, said he, this honour gain '
(A side-note gives the missing name ' Stainmore '.)
She still refuses :

' Sh^d she a very Chicken raw and young
Take place of F—ls y^t had been feather'd long ?'
All this delay provokes ' the impatient Coachman '
' A crown was ask't & strait a Crown was paid.'

But y^e Hero resolved to be avenged.

' The clock strikes six, he rises from his chair
And once again attempts y^e cruel Fair.

¹ See above, p. 36.

The now relenting Nymph wth ease comply'd
But he . . .

Her hand rejected with a noble scorn.'

He says that she perhaps remembers a story that their parents had designed them for one another, and explains

'Not Courtship, but Civility was meant.'

He then went 'rushing thro' y^e Door' while Molly Fowl reproves Hanaponta for her conduct :

'Tis downright Nonsense to refuse a Man.'

In Canto III Gallus takes a mean revenge. He betakes himself to 'Mistress Fame' in the form of a 'Manteau-maker' to spread the tale which she very successfully accomplished.

'The winged story soon as told took air,
Now spread from y^e Beginning of y^e Fair
(Where Cheeses pil'd appear a goodly show)
To the extreamest parts of Garlick row.'

Full in the midst of the Fair there is a raffling-booth : and this leads to a digression in which we are carried to Trinity Lodge, and the Master's fair daughter, here called Aurelia.¹

'Some Girls love China, some delight in Rings,
As late Aurelia . . .
But now not lately at y^e Fair she 's been,
Nor foremost at y^e Raffling-booth is seen,
The Nymph condemn'd alas ! at home to stay
In Mathematicks spends y^e tedious day.
She ask'd, she beg'd, they say she almost cry'd
To see one play, but stern Papa deny'd.
At length resolv'd she to his study went
To gain, or beg no more, his hard consent :
'Twas y^e last time of asking—him she found
With crowds of books encompassed around,

¹ I suppose 'Aurelia' to be Joanna Bentley.

A pile of heapt-up Lexicons his seat
 And dusty learning lay beneath his feet.
 She ask'd, his head he rais'd from of his book
 And thus reply'd with a forbidding look.
 "And would you then my Daughter, would^r you now
 Go see those plays mine enemies allow?
 Those enemies with whom I always jarr
 And at this time proclaim an open war.
 I'll pull y^e many headed monster down
 And hurl my thunder, though I shake my throne.
 What they approve I disapprove: should they
 Once stay at home to Read, I'd go to Church & Pray.¹
 And who knows, Daughter, what may be my case,
 What revolutions time may bring to pass?
 A Summer house we see wth wondring Eyes
 Instead of an expected Chappell² rise,
 Where Senior Fellows may in su^mer come
 And in y^e Chappel make [their] Juniors room.
 Why dost thou, Daughter, thus a boon require?
 Thy Brother Dick³ has no such low desire.
 A thirst of knowledge sets his soul on fire.
 He when a boy (such boys you'l seldom find)
 Gave early proofs of a discerning mind.
 One morning, as y^e boy his primmer read,
 To me he ran with great concern & said:

¹ Bentley in 1724 had not attended the College Chapel for years (Jebb's *Bentley*, p. 195). He was charged, as it appears, with spending college money on a summerhouse in his garden. (*Monk's Life*, ii, p. 435 top.)

² Trinity Chapel underwent great renovation about 1725-7. Jebb, *op. cit.* p. 101.

³ Richard Bentley, born 1708, B.A. and Fellow of Trinity 1723, who in later years illustrated Gray's *Six Poems*, and to whom Gray addressed 'Stanzas'. He was Horace Walpole's adviser in the architecture of Strawberry Hill, and undertook to edit Lucan for the Strawberry Hill Press, but his work was completed by his nephew Richard Cumberland. (D. C. Tovey, *Gray's English Poems*, p. 177.)

'Here is a single for a double O,
It should be Too, & look, Papa, tis To.'
I plac't upon my knees y^e hopeful boy,
And smiling view'd him wth a parent's joy.
And thus I spoke :

'These are y^e Blunders y^e Transcribers make,
Who words, whole sentences, nay lines mistake,
Blockheads !—but thou shalt plague y^m after me,
Thou shalt a Critick Hypercritick be.
Before my New Greek Testament appears,
An everlasting toil, y^e work of years,¹
Before a Graduate gown adorn thy back,
Thou shal't distinguish 'twixt an *et* & *ac*.
First be a Fellow thy Mama to please,
Then grow into a Scholar by Degrees.
But when thou'st got thy Father's works by heart
And learn't from thence the Criticizing Art,
Thy tongue unwilling shall in Latin speak,
Thy learned head shall sweat in drops of Greek.'
With sudden pleasure thus inspir'd, I said ;
Omen confirm'd y^e Prophecy [I] made :
The old gramarians Dicky's future foes
Shudder'd & trembled in y^{eir} inmost rows.
From y^e high shelf Le Cleric ² thund'ring fell
By what strange impulse mov'd y^e Gods alone can tell.
Go, Daughter, & that bright example see,
Copy your Brother as he copies me.

He said, & to his books return'd again . . .
In vain with music she her cares appeas'd,
Which had it been abroad had better pleas'd ;

¹ Bentley in 1720 announced a new edition of the New Testament and was much occupied with it until about 1729.

² There is a side-note on Le Cleric (Le Clerc) : 'Editor of a fragm^t of Menander ag^t which B—ly wrote' (1710).

In vain with Mathematicks sooths her grief,
Sh^e finds in Mathematicks no relief.

For what are fancied Circles to compare
With real Rings presented at y^e Fair ?¹

In the printed *Stirbitch Fair* there is no portrait of Bentley :
we have merely Aurelia, her Mamma and her brother.

After this digression, we return in Canto IV to the Fair and
to our main story :

‘ Here Hanaponta unattended came.’

She is met by a friend Cloe, who, as is unkindly spoken, had

‘ been, ’tis said, in marriage vow confin’d

Had she but met a Gallant of her mind.

But th^o she courted many, none approv’d.

In Politicks she chose y^e Tory part

And thought the K—g¹ a Cuckold from her heart.

Nor will the Gentle Reader now admire

We after Female Politicks enquire

Since now y^e Women at Guild-hall appear

To rid y^e Government of all its fear.

How will y^e Parliaments severe decree

With Women’s tender Consciences agree ?

How will nice, squeamish ladies brook

To kiss with coral lips a greasy book,

Yet now the Women’s consciences are ty’d

They’l force ’tis hop’d when next Election’s try’d

Their Husbands votes upon y^e loyal side.

The reference is apparently to an enactment obliging
women to take the oath of allegiance.

Cloe addressed Hanaponta :

‘ How came you, Madam, on y^e horse fair day

The great, th’ important time at home to stay,

When ev’ry rural nymph & rustic Squire

Were here array’d in all y^er best attire,

¹ I assume that ‘ the K—g ’ is George I.

In y^{eir} long wigs, such as they only wear
 To meet y^e Judge, or come to Stirbitch Fair ?'
 Hanaponta 'blushing turn'd her pretty head aside.'
 The Nymphs 'in troops around her drew
 And all the reason ask'd because they knew'.

Now Gallus appears on the scene :

'From Nymph to Nymph y^e raffling cup he bears
 To Hanaponta he came a while she stood,
 Confus'd, abash'd & motionless as wood,
 At length she dropt her shilling, Gallus bow'd,
 She plung'd in silence midst y^e thickest crowd.'

At this point there is a great gap in the Harleian MS. The printed book, however, tells us that Hanaponta 'resolves to lay her fears aside', and goes to the playhouse in the Fair to see the farewell play 'Love in a bottle'—so it had been proclaimed.

The early part of Canto V being also missing in the manuscript, we must take the story from the printed book.

'Now in each College and in ev'ry Hall
 The bells invite, but few obey the call.
 Tutors themselves, impatient of delay,
 Neglect their pray'rs and supper for the play.'
 The Booth is crowded. The Cambridge beauties are all there:
 'They shine in beauty, but in virtue more.'

There was only one absentee (we now return to our manuscript) :

'Warren alone cou'd from y^e Play forbear,
 She nurst a Lover with a Christian care.'

Meanwhile

'In y^e Side Box our Nymph conspicuous sat.
 . . . "No Epilogue tonight," y^e Damsel cry'd,
 "An Epilogue there is," a Voice reply'd !
 That was unfortunate for Hanaponta.

'But hark! y^e Bell behind y^e Curtain rings,
The Fidlers cease.'

... 'Now on y^e Stage y^e King of Strollers trod,
Prompting behind him an Inferiour stood.
Thespis who first began y^e Stroller's Art
With moving Plays came rumbling in his Cart,
And next to that (distracting sight) appears
The beauteous Hanaponta all in Tears.'

A side-note informs us: 'The Epilogue began wth Thespis's Waggon, immediately after w^{ch} follow'd y^e Lines upon Hanaponta.'

The story of her refusal of Gallus's hand and his consequent refusal of hers had spread so far that it was referred to in the Epilogue, and poor Hanaponta became an object of derision.

'Tis Her, 'tis Her, the Insolent deride,
What other has an Hand too Fair to be deny'd? ¹
For Laughter all their Mouths extended large,
Stand ready cock't & all at once discharge.
Inhuman Poet! that could thus disgrace
And call forth Blushes on a lovely Face!
Cruel obdurate, unrelenting Heart,
That they could lash a Nymph behind a Cart!'

Hanaponta goes home, in bitter dudgeon.

'She sigh'd, she sob'd,' and resolved never to visit Cambridge again.

'far I'll fly from this detested Race,
And leave this hated, though my native Place.
Sooner shall Freshmen not y^e Wranglers dodge,
And Rakes takes Lodgings near y^e Master's lodge,
Sooner shall Fellow-Commoners take pains—
Sooner shall Sophs have manners—Heads have brains,

¹ There is a side-note: 'In allusion to a Line in y^e Epilogue "Pity so fair
'a Hand should be deny'd."'

Sooner wth Wiggish Zeal shall Jonians¹ burn,
And Bentley be restor'd²—than I return.'

The printed text informs us that the players were 'The Norwich Company', and softens the last couplet

'Sooner with Whiggish Zeal shall Tories burn,
And B—— be restor'd—than I return.'

I have extracted some of the topical interest from this buried skit, but I have left problems for others to solve. Who was the author? Who was Gallus? and who was Hanaponta?

¹ Members of St. John's College, which was traditionally Tory.

² If this refers to the restoration of Bentley's degrees, of which the University had deprived him in 1718, the poem must date from 1722 or 1723. The degrees were restored 26 March 1724.

RICHARD PYNSON, GLOVER AND PRINTER

By H. R. PLOMER

DURING the summer of the year 1482 a man of the name of William Pays, otherwise called William Symonds, and described as a 'yeoman' of Temple Sidington in the county of Hampshire, was arrested on a charge of having committed certain felonies and misdemeanours, the exact nature of which is not stated. Two persons went bail for his appearance at the next sessions, one of them being described as 'John Burges de Westham in com[itatu] Essex, miller', the other as 'Ric[ardu]s Pynson de parochia sancti Clementis Dacorum extra barrā noui Templi, London in com[itatu] Middlesex, Glover'.

This discovery, which I made quite unexpectedly at the Public Record Office¹, a few weeks back, points either to there having been two Richard Pynsons in the parish of St. Clement Danes, or, to Richard Pynson the printer having previously carried on business as a 'glover'. As there was no impossibility in there having been two Richard Pynsons in the parish of St. Clement Danes between the years 1482 and 1490, I spent some days in trying to prove the identity of the 'glover', but without success. There was only one wretched little alien subsidy roll of that period to be found, and though it included the parish of St. Clement Danes, it referred only to aliens of a certain standing in the parish, and the Glover's name was not in it. There were no other subsidy rolls of the period; and reference to the Company of Glovers brought a reply that their records did not go so far back as 1482.

¹ Public Record Office—Controlment Roll, Trin. 22, Edward IV, memb. 14.

There was just one other chance, a customs roll of the year 1479-80 for the port of London; but though it gave the names of many alien merchants importing goods into England, there was no Richard Pynson, glover, amongst them.

Turning to the other hypothesis, there seems equally no impossibility in the Richard Pynson, glover, who went bail for the unfortunate William Pays in 1482, being identical with the Richard Pynson, printer and bookbinder, who was living there in 1490.

William Caxton was a 'mercier' before he became a printer, so why should not Richard Pynson have been a 'glover'? Moreover, the early history of Richard Pynson the printer has always been a matter of uncertainty.

Mr. E. Gordon Duff in his *Century of the English Book Trade*, identifies the printer with a student of the University of Paris in 1464. Granting the accuracy of the identification, Pynson might have taken to trade sufficiently early to be a 'glover' in London eighteen years later. Moreover, in my article on 'Two Lawsuits of Richard Pynson' (*The Library*, 2nd Series, vol. x, pp. 115-33) I showed that Pynson bought and sold 'fures, horse harness, says, chamlettys, lynyn cloth and other thynges', as well as printed books, for his customer John Russhe, so that there is no reason why he should not at one time have engaged in the glove trade.

We may note that one of the glover's near neighbours in 1482 was Henry Frankenburg, who for some years had been importing large quantities of books of 'divers histories' into England, and further, that in this very year, 1482, the partnership between John Lettou and William de Machlinia was dissolved, Lettou disappeared, and Machlinia, whom Pynson the printer is regarded as having succeeded, moved to a new office at the east end of Fleet Street, 'nere Flete-bryge', not more than a quarter of an hour's walk from St. Clement Danes.

If Richard Pynson, 'glover', of 1482, is to be identified with the printer, he may have had business connexions with Machlinia before the latter ceased to print, 'some time after 1486', to take Mr. Duff's date. Instead, therefore, of saying with Mr. Duff, 'Coming over between 1486 and 1490 'Pynson set to work to start his press', we have only to recognize that he was already on the spot.

FACSIMILES OF ELIZABETHAN LITERARY HANDS

IN the course of the discussion which followed Mr. Jenkinson's paper on Elizabethan Handwritings when read before the Bibliographical Society, it was announced that arrangements were being made for the issue of a series of facsimiles to illustrate the literary handwritings of the Elizabethan period. In order to enable students to familiarize themselves both with the general character of the current writing of the time and likewise with the individual hands of as many as possible of the principal authors, it is proposed to publish reproductions of a number of literary documents written between about 1550 and 1650. The initial programme would be for 75 to 100 plates, with notes and transcripts, in three yearly instalments. As soon as the plan has been matured circulars will be sent to members of the Bibliographical Society and to all regular subscribers to *The Library*. Any others who may be interested in the scheme are invited to communicate with Mr. W. W. Greg, Park Lodge, Wimbledon.

NOTES ON OLD BOOKS

By W. W. GREG.

A Study of Wormholes

DARWIN taught us the part played by worm-borings in renewing the surface of the earth. Bibliographers have discovered other uses. They sometimes solve difficult problems; they may also raise queer puzzles of their own.

Examining a copy of John Marston's tragedy, *Antonio's Revenge* (4°, 1602) in the British Museum (C. 21. b 40/4), I was struck by the fact that wormholes appeared on certain leaves only. Having satisfied myself that it was not a made-up copy, I concluded that either the paper had been attacked by worms before it was printed, or else that the stock of printed sheets had suffered before the copies were made up. The latter alternative would suggest that the publication had little success, and it seemed worth discovering, if possible, which was correct. It turned out that neither was correct, the true solution proving, to me at least, unexpected.

Two leaves of every sheet show wormholes, and the positions of the groups in the two leaves are different. In the following table I distinguish the positions as A and B, the former being just above the centre of the leaf, the latter somewhat higher. I also give the number of holes in the group as a rough guide to its extent, but it must be remembered that holes sometimes coalesce, and that a smaller number may really indicate more extensive ravages than a larger.

A 3	position	A	number	1	F 3	position	B	number	4
A 4	"	B	"	2	F 4	"	A	"	3
B 1	"	B	"	2	G 1	"	B	"	4
B 2	"	A	"	1	G 2	"	A	"	3
C 1	"	A	"	1	H 1	"	B	"	5
C 2	"	B	"	3	H 2	"	A	"	5
D 3	"	A	"	3	I 1	"	A	"	6
D 4	"	B	"	4	I 2	"	B	"	7
E 3	"	B	"	3	K 1	"	A	"	5
E 4	"	A	"	2	K 2	"	B	"	5

Now two points must be noticed. In the first place the positions A and B approach one another as we near the end of the book, and in the second the configuration of the groups becomes more and more similar, until in sheet K, though there is still about half an inch difference in the position, the configuration is identical.

So far as I know there is only one possible explanation of these facts. The sheets, after being printed, dried, and stacked, would, of course, be gathered into copies preparatory to being folded and sewn. But in the present instance, after gathering, the sheets must have been scattered again. For when they were once more collected, though they were laid almost in the correct order (D and E were reversed), some were turned head to foot and some back to front, and in this state the pile was folded together rather inaccurately along the shorter axis and with the last sheet inside. The whole was then laid aside, and so was attacked by the grub, which made a single hole in A 3 at one side of the bundle and two holes only in A 4 at the other side, but quite a constellation in K 1 and K 2 in the middle.

The disorder of the sheets preclude the assumption that the copy was part of the binder's stock. It must have been a merely individual accident.

Standing Type

It used to be freely assumed that in the seventeenth century whole books were kept standing in type for years while leisurely alterations were made in the text. This theory has passed into the region of myth: it is unlikely that any work of considerable bulk was ever all in type at one time. The following case, however, seems to show sixteen folio pages standing for five years.

In preparation for the publishing season of 1688, Henry Herringman sought to add attraction to one of his periodical reprints of the first part of *The Works of Mr. Abraham Cowley* by getting Faithorne's portrait, which had almost ceased to be recognizable, re-engraved (with the date 1687), and making certain small additions to the text. These are advertised on the title-page as follows: 'To this Edition are added several 'Commendatory Copies of Verses on the Author, by Persons 'of Honour. As also a Table to the whole Works, never before 'Printed.' The 'whole Works', it may be remarked in passing, were those of which Herringman had control—he calmly ignored the 'Second Part', first collected in 1681, and the 'Third Part', printed in 1689. The commendatory verses occupy four leaves signed 'C*' for insertion between quires C and D, and the table another four leaves (the second only signed '*2'), left to the binder to insert where he pleased, which is perhaps why he sometimes left them out altogether. These two quires appear to have been an after-thought, for they are printed on different paper from the rest of the volume, having a fleur-de-lis in place of initials for a watermark.

The next edition appeared in 1693, and contained for the first time one of Cowley's plays. The title-page advertises: 'To this Edition are added, Cutter of Coleman-Street: and 'Several Commendatory Copies of Verses on the Author, by

'Persons of Honour. As also, A Table to the whole Works, 'never before Printed.' Meticulous accuracy was not thought necessary in seventeenth-century advertisement, and it was not till 1700 that the verses and table ceased to appear for the first time. Yet, if accused of deliberate falsehood, Herringman, had he thought of it, might have replied that the two quires in question were in a sense printed for the first time, since they were printed from the same setting of type as those in the edition of 1688. At the same time it would not have been true to suggest that the whole impression of these sheets had been made at once, and that he was merely re-issuing stock prepared for the earlier collection. For here the quires bear an elaborate fool's-cap watermark, which, though not identical with the fool's-cap found in the rest of the book, is strikingly different both from the watermark of the bulk of the 1688 volume and from that of the additional quires of that year. The natural conclusion seems to be that the type set in 1688 was kept standing till 1693.

The large number of editions of Cowley's Works, originally collected in 1668—there were folio reprints at any rate in 1674, 1681, 1684, 1688, 1693, and 1700—proves how steady was the demand, and one can hardly help wondering why a larger number of copies was not struck off instead of re-setting a bulky volume so often. Presumably some regulation of the Stationers' Company interfered with more economical production by limiting the number of copies to be pulled from one composition. The head-piece to the table shows that the additional quires were produced by the same printer as the rest of the 1688 volume—'J. M.', probably John Macocke—but it seems that in their case it proved possible to evade the regulation and take two impressions from the type at an interval of four or five years. It is perhaps worth noting that Macocke seems to have died in 1692, when the 1693 volume would probably be in course of preparation.

Jonson: 'Every Man Out of His Humour'

Mr. F. S. Ferguson has pointed out to me that the head-piece which appears twice in the first edition of Jonson's play (on A 3 and B 1) was used about the same time by Adam Islip, for instance in Holland's *Pliny* in 1601. It therefore appears that the play should be assigned to his press. He does not often appear as a dramatic printer, but he produced an edition of Peele's *David and Bethsabe* in 1599, in circumstances not wholly devoid of mystery.

REVIEWS

WILLIAM BLAKE¹

BOTH by its excellence and its bulk, Dr. Keynes's *Bibliography of William Blake* irresistibly suggests the epithet 'monumental'. It may be supplemented in the future, as there are manuscripts and plates which after being recorded by previous writers have disappeared, and some of these may again come to light. Moreover, the very high prices now fetched by Blake's 'illuminated books' and by all his rarer pieces will probably bring a few additional copies to the auction rooms. But beyond a supplement recording 'finds' belonging to these two classes there seems little left to be done, and it is pleasant to think that Dr. Keynes is still young enough to look forward to himself describing the addenda of the next thirty or forty years. His present book was begun in December 1903, when he was an undergraduate at Cambridge, and thus 'represents the slow accumulations of 'thirteen years', and having lived with Blake as long as this, he is not likely, as some bibliographers have done after publishing a 'magnum opus', to lose interest in the subject.

Dr. Keynes's bibliography is divided into five sections, treating respectively of the manuscripts and original editions of Blake's works, of his illustrations to books by other authors, the posthumous editions of his works, books and periodicals about his life and genius, and miscellanea recording catalogues of exhibitions and sales and the names of books formerly in

¹ *A Bibliography of William Blake*. By Geoffrey Keynes, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.S. New York: The Grolier Club of New York, 1921. [Imprint] London: Charles Whittingham & Griggs, Ltd., Chiswick Press, Took Court, Chancery Lane. Large 4°, pp. xvi. + 516; 250 copies printed, of which 220 for sale at \$50 to members of the Grolier Club.

his possession. There are, moreover, six appendixes, two giving his manuscript notes on Bishop Watson's *Apology for the Bible* and Bishop Berkeley's *Siris*, the text of some hitherto unprinted letters, the text of three cancelled plates of his *America*, some early reminiscences and criticisms not hitherto used by Blake's biographers, and an iconography of the portraits of himself and his wife. When it is added that the strictly bibliographical sections are largely concerned with descriptions of nearly all the known copies of Blake's works, whether in public or private ownership, the epithet 'monumental' must be recognized as justified.

That Dr. Keynes has attained such an admirably near approach to bibliographical completeness is due, he tells us in his preface, very largely to the help of Miss Henrietta Bartlett (another of our members), who has described for him the copies in the ownership of Mr. W. A. White, Mr. H. E. Huntington, Mr. Morgan, and other American collectors who have helped to make the United States the Mecca to which (save for what, and it is much, Mr. T. J. Wise has done to stem the westward drift) students of many English authors since the Restoration will have to go to see their greatest rarities. Mr. White's Blake collection is certainly the finest in existence, and out of his abundance he has been able to spare examples of some of the most desirable editions as gifts to members of his family, and yet keep it in this position. It is thus very fitting that an American book club should finance, and American collectors and an American bibliographer help to make complete, this magnificent tribute to Blake compiled by one of his English lovers. It would certainly have been impossible, or at least exceedingly difficult, to arrange for the publication of a Blake bibliography on such a scale in England. The more the responsibility as well as the pleasure and pride of owning literary treasures is realized in the United States, the easier it will be for British

scholars to acquiesce cheerfully in the transference of so large a proportion of the treasures to American ownership.

From the numerous interesting points brought out by Dr. Keynes in his bibliographical preface we may note his correction of the assertion that Blake never revised his work (he offers ocular demonstrations to the contrary by giving the text of a plate made for *America*, which appears in the published book with various small changes, having clearly been re-etched for the purpose); the use of watermarks in dating various copies of the books and the following summary of the method in which Blake went to work :

‘It is evident that Blake never printed more than a very small number of copies of any book at a time, for he varied the ground tint in which the books were printed almost as much as he did the subsequent illumination. He used various shades of brown, yellow, sepia, green, blue, grey, or black; sometimes the colour may vary among the constituent plates of one copy. In almost every case the printing was done in monochrome; but some of the plates of the small dogmatic works on Natural Religion appear to have been printed in more than one colour. In the subsequent colouring of the books Blake used for the most part water-colours only, and in one book, *The Song of Los*, he confined himself entirely to the opaque medium. It is noticeable that as the years passed Blake’s taste for elaboration grew, so that copies done after the period ending about 1800 are much more carefully finished than those done earlier. It was chiefly during the last ten years of his life that he heightened the effects of his water-colours by the use of gold.’

Turning to the appendixes we may note that Blake’s notes on the Bishop of Llandaff’s *Apology for the Bible in a series of Letters addressed to Thomas Paine* make very pretty reading: the triangle is as good a one as could be wished. There are also some interesting passages in the hitherto unpublished letters, notably this, dated 13 Hercules Buildings, Lambeth, 2 July 1800.

‘I am still employed in making Designs & Little Pictures with now & then an engraving & find that in future to live will not be so difficult as it has been. It is very extraordinary that London in so few years from a city of meer Necessaries or at least a commerce of the lowest order of luxuries should have become

a City of Elegance in some degree & that its once stupid inhabitants should enter into an emulation of Grecian manner. There are now I believe as many Booksellers as there are Butchers & as many Printshops as of any other trade. We remember when a Print shop was a rare bird in London and I myself remember when I thought my pursuits of Art a kind of criminal dissipation & neglect of the main chance, which I hid my face for not being able to abandon as a Passion which is forbidden by Law & Religion, but now it appears to be Law and Gospel too, at least I hear so from the few friends I have dared to visit in my stupid Melancholy.'

Dr. Keynes's book is indeed a rich storehouse.

EARLY PRINTED BOOKS AT CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE¹

MR. GASELEE's list of the Corpus incunabula and early sixteenth-century books is compiled on the useful plan, now generally adopted, of giving only short-title entries, with references to Proctor's *Index* or other bibliographies, but adding notes of bindings, former ownership, and other matters of interest in the copies described. The bulk of the 125 incunabula are noted by Proctor, the exceptions as usual being most numerous in the French books. Thus of 38 German incunabula 33 are in Proctor, and two others are entered in the interleaved copy at the British Museum. Of 44 Italian 37 are in Proctor; but of 22 French he had only 14 to record. The English incunabula include two Caxtons, the Oxford *Lyndewode*, and a fragment of Anwykyll's grammar, fragments of Machlinia's *Nova Statuta*, Pynson's edition of Alcock's *Gallicantus* and the St. Albans *Chronicles of England*, quite a varied little nosegay, though lacking a specimen of De Worde. Among the foreign books we note a fragment of

¹ *The Early Printed Books in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*: a hand-list arranged in order of country, town, and press, with short references to Proctor's *Index* and other bibliographical works. Compiled by STEPHEN GASELEE. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1921; pp. 38. Price two shillings and sixpence.

Guillaume Maynyal's *Legenda Sarum* of which, and not of his own *Legenda Aurea*, Caxton, as Mr. Duff has taught us, bequeathed copies in his will; Reuwich's *Breydenbach*, the Lübeck *Birgittae Revelationes*, a Naples Juvenal which Proctor erroneously ascribed to the press of Wendelin de Wila at Rome, and a Netherlands blockbook, the *Biblia Pauperum*. Most of the books came from Archbishop Parker, but three had belonged to Dr. Thomas Cosyn, Master of the College, 1487-1515; another to a Robert Thurlby, admitted in 1598; over a dozen to the Rev. Samuel Savage Lewis, a librarian and benefactor of the College (*d.* 1891) whose portrait hangs in its hall, while others have been given by Sir Geoffrey Butler, who now holds his post. Since the list was printed a gift of nineteen incunabula by Lord Queenborough has provoked an appendix, which can be obtained from the librarian for the sum of threepence.

Of books of the first twenty years of the sixteenth century about 180 are registered, again mostly from the Parker bequest. They include four De Wordes, eight Pynsons (among them Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, *Sallust*, and *Mancinus*), and Notary's *Promptorium Parvulorum*, another nice nosegay. We hope Mr. Gaselee will continue his labours and produce other brief catalogues.

THE BOLLANDISTS¹

A WARM welcome may be given to this translation of Father Delehaye's excellent *L'Œuvre des Bollandistes*, published at Brussels in 1920. In 1603 Father Heribert Roswey, or Rosweyde, suggested to his Jesuit superiors that 'when reading the lives of the saints he had been surprised to find

¹ *The Work of the Bollandists through three centuries, 1615-1915.* By HIRPOLYTE DELEHAYE, S.J. From the original French. Princeton University Press, Princeton; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1922. 8vo, pp. 269.

'in them so many apocryphal stories, the orthodoxy of which 'might often well be questioned', and that the publication of genuine texts would be a service to religion. The suggestion was approved, and twelve years later led to the publication by Rosweyde of critical texts of the *Vitae Patrum*, or Lives of the Fathers of the Desert, 'the epic of the origins of monasticism in Egypt and Syria'. Father Delehaye's monograph grew out of a desire to commemorate the tercentenary of this 'foundation stone' of the *Acta Sanctorum*, though the war delayed the project some five years.

Though he had planned an edition of the *Acta* in fifteen volumes, Rosweyde himself was interested in too many other things to bring any of these to completion; but before he died in 1629 he had gathered much material, and this the next year was handed over to Father John Bollandus, from whom the Bollandists take their name. Bollandus enlarged Rosweyde's scheme to include all saints whose cult was incontestable, whether any formal *Acta* survived or not. After five years' work he was ready to print the volumes dealing with the saints commemorated in January, when a collaborator only recently assigned to him, Father Godfrey Henschenius, set a still higher standard by adding to the annotated texts a real biographical commentary. Printing was stopped, and it was not until 1643 that the two great volumes for January finally appeared. February followed in 1658, and with the help of a new and even yet better equipped assistant, Daniel Papebroch ('the Bollandist par excellence'), March was finished in 1668, three years after the death of Bollandus. April was reached in 1675, and, like its two predecessors, was completed in three volumes published simultaneously. May, June, and July took seven volumes each, which straggled out respectively between 1680 and 1688, 1695 and 1717, 1719 and 1731. The six volumes for August were spread over twelve years; the eight for Septem-

ber over nineteen; the thirteen for October over nearly a hundred and twenty, 1765-1883, the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1770 causing a break of ten years, and troubles arising out of the French occupation of Belgium separating Vols. 6 and 7 by no less than fifty-one (1794-1845). The last volume to appear is that for November 5-8, which is dated 1910. As the Bollandists suffered much during the German occupation of Brussels their pace is not likely to have quickened.

There is something very impressive in this unhesitating perseverance, which refusing either to be stopped or stinted has steadily increased the number of volumes to a month to meet the greater wealth of materials which have accumulated. As Father Delehaye fills out with many human details the story here baldly epitomized, it becomes a bibliographical epic (to borrow his own word for the *Vitae Patrum*) of extraordinary interest. It seems probable that it will take the rest of the century to bring the work to the end of the hagiological year, and when 31 December is reached the two volumes of January, bulky though they be, will surely seem inadequate, and the Bollandists will still be with, not us, but our descendants.

THE BOOK COLLECTOR'S GUIDE¹

I HAVE had Mr. De Ricci's book on my table ever since it reached me, and have used it six days a week in most weeks, on five of the six days with great contentment and gratitude and on the sixth with an acquiescent recognition that I was looking for something Mr. De Ricci does not profess to give. Thus when I turned to it for information as to Constable's *Diana* and found none, I had no reason to complain, because

¹ *The Book Collector's Guide. A practical handbook of British and American Bibliography.* By SEYMOUR DE RICCI. The Rosenbach Company, 1320 Walnut Street, Philadelphia; 273 Madison Avenue, New York. 1921. pp. 649.

Mr. De Ricci expressly states in his preface 'as regards the inclusion or omission of many rare literary items of the 17th and 18th centuries, the rule I have followed has been to take into account, not only the intrinsic interest of each volume, but also the accidental fact of a copy having turned up in a recent great sale.' To the best of my belief there exists only a copy and a half of Constable's *Diana*, and as both these are in English libraries, however interesting the book may be to bibliographers, it is of little interest to collectors. Mr. De Ricci caters for book-collectors, not for bibliographers. Only he includes so much valuable bibliographical information that he tempts bibliographers to be unreasonable. Being published at Philadelphia and New York, the centre of gravity of his *Guide* is naturally in the United States, and most American collectors when they have used it for three months will surely wonder how they could have got on without it. For books still in England the information is less complete, precisely because the older books are mostly in libraries and not in private collections, while collectors of modern rarities are less numerous, less wealthy, and less communicative than in America. But even on this side of the water the *Guide* will be immensely useful, and Mr. De Ricci is greatly to be congratulated on the skill with which he has supplied a real want. Collectors of rare editions of the collectable works of English literature and book-illustration, and of the chief Americana, will nearly always find in his book just the information they need, including conservative estimates of book-values and a generous record of the prices realized at great auctions.

THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS¹

THIS attractively illustrated account of the Oxford University Press offers a useful summary of its history, and an impressive description of its present activities. The anonymous compiler has succumbed, like Mr. Roberts in his story of the sister press at Cambridge, to the temptation to antedate its beginning by assuming that a press in a university is a university press. No evidence is offered that the fifteenth-century press at Oxford had any official character, and though the second press, which issued twenty-three books in the years 1517-20, may have been, not merely officially favoured, but really official, its brief existence was followed by a gap of sixty-five years. It would thus surely have been better to let the dates on the title-page read 1585-1921, instead of claiming that the University possessed a press of its own in '1468', a date vehemently suspected of being itself a misprint. To put it bluntly, a title-page bearing this date does not seem to come up to 'the Oxford standard', to an exposition of which a special section of the book is devoted. For everything but the title-page we have nothing but praise. The historical summary notices many little details which even students of printing, specially interested in the University Press, will be glad to be told or reminded of, and the illustrations are both useful and good. But it is more especially for its account of 'the Press to-day' and of its developments in India, Canada, Australasia, South Africa, China, Scandinavia, and the United States, and again for the skilful summary of its different classes of publications that the book is to be welcomed. It exhibits the Press as what it really is, an asset of the first importance in the life not only of the University, but of the nation, and of the federation of the British Empire, as well as in the promotion of scholarship and good literature

¹ *Some Account of the Oxford University Press, 1468-1921.* Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1922. pp. 112. 5s.

all over the world. It prints a splendid variety of good books, and it prints them very well, and for many years past it has been managed with a fine business ability not often associated with universities. Long may it flourish.

A. W. P.

ABBO OF FLEURY¹

THERE is a passage in the epistle treating of a variety of grammatical puzzles written by Abbo to his former English pupils at Ramsey, no doubt soon after he left them in 982, which has been a good deal commented and emended by those interested in the mediaeval pronunciation of Latin. The beginning of chapter 12, as it stands in the edition by Cardinal Mai printed in 1833, is unintelligible, a fact to be regretted seeing that the discussion at this point is of peculiar interest. Photographs of the only known manuscript, which is at the Vatican, reveal an extraordinary editorial blunder. The scribe, it seems, accidentally omitted a passage from the first column of the recto of fol. 18, and subsequently inserted it, with due reference marks, across the top margin of the whole page. The editor, disregarding both marks and sense, printed one portion of the insertion as though it belonged at the head of the first column and the rest as though it belonged at the head of the second, thereby effectually reducing three passages to nonsense. The error is instructive as illustrating what may have happened with a mediaeval scribe just as well as with a modern editor and as showing how impossible it may be to restore order in a work that survives in a single manuscript only.

In the present instance, given the original, the reconstruction of the correct text was an easy matter, but Dr. Bradley

¹ *On the Text of Abbo of Fleury's 'Quaestiones Grammaticales'*. By HENRY BRADLEY. From the Proceedings of the British Academy. London, Humphrey Milford. 8vo, pp. 8. 1s.

has added some very acute observations on its interpretation, which is by no means free from difficulty. On only one point would I venture to suggest a possible alternative view. The second sentence of the restored passage runs: 'Sed aspirationes bene uos angli peruidere potestis. qui pro .Θ. frequentius .B. scribitis sicut pro digamma .P.' That a French scribe should substitute P for the 'wyn' that Abbo must have written as the equivalent of *digamma* is natural enough, but the connexion of Θ and B is less obvious. Dr. Bradley suggests that 'Perhaps he took the þ for a minuscule b', but why when the manuscript gives us majuscule letters should we assume that Abbo used minuscules? It seems to me more likely that what he wrote was: 'qui pro Θ frequentius Ð scribitis'. If the cross stroke of the 'eth' was placed rather far to the right the French copyist might easily mistake the unfamiliar letter for a B. By the way, it would have added both to the interest and lucidity of his admirable communication if Dr. Bradley had mentioned the date and character of the writing.

The editorial untrustworthiness of Cardinal Mai is said to be notorious, but one cannot help wondering whether there has ever been an editor who was not capable on occasion of letting down those who relied on his work to the exclusion of the original. The moral is twofold: first, to discover the personal equation of your editor, and, second, to refer all cruxes to the original before constructing elaborate theories of interpretation. The writer here shows that whereas Mai's text led an ingenious critic to the conclusion that Anglo-Saxon retained the Primitive Germanic 'glottal catch', the correct inference from Abbo's actual words is that the modern French *liaison* was already current in the tenth century! Of course an original itself often hides pitfalls even for the wary, and it is not certain that Abbo's writing tablets did not get shuffled before the first scribe copied out his notes.

W. W. GREG.